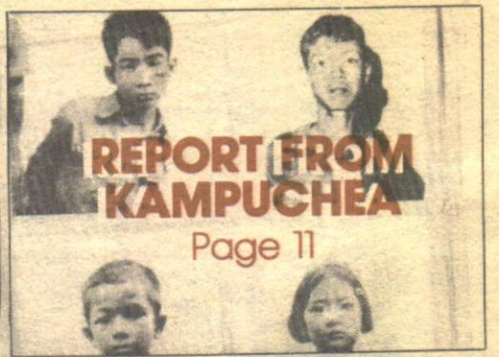


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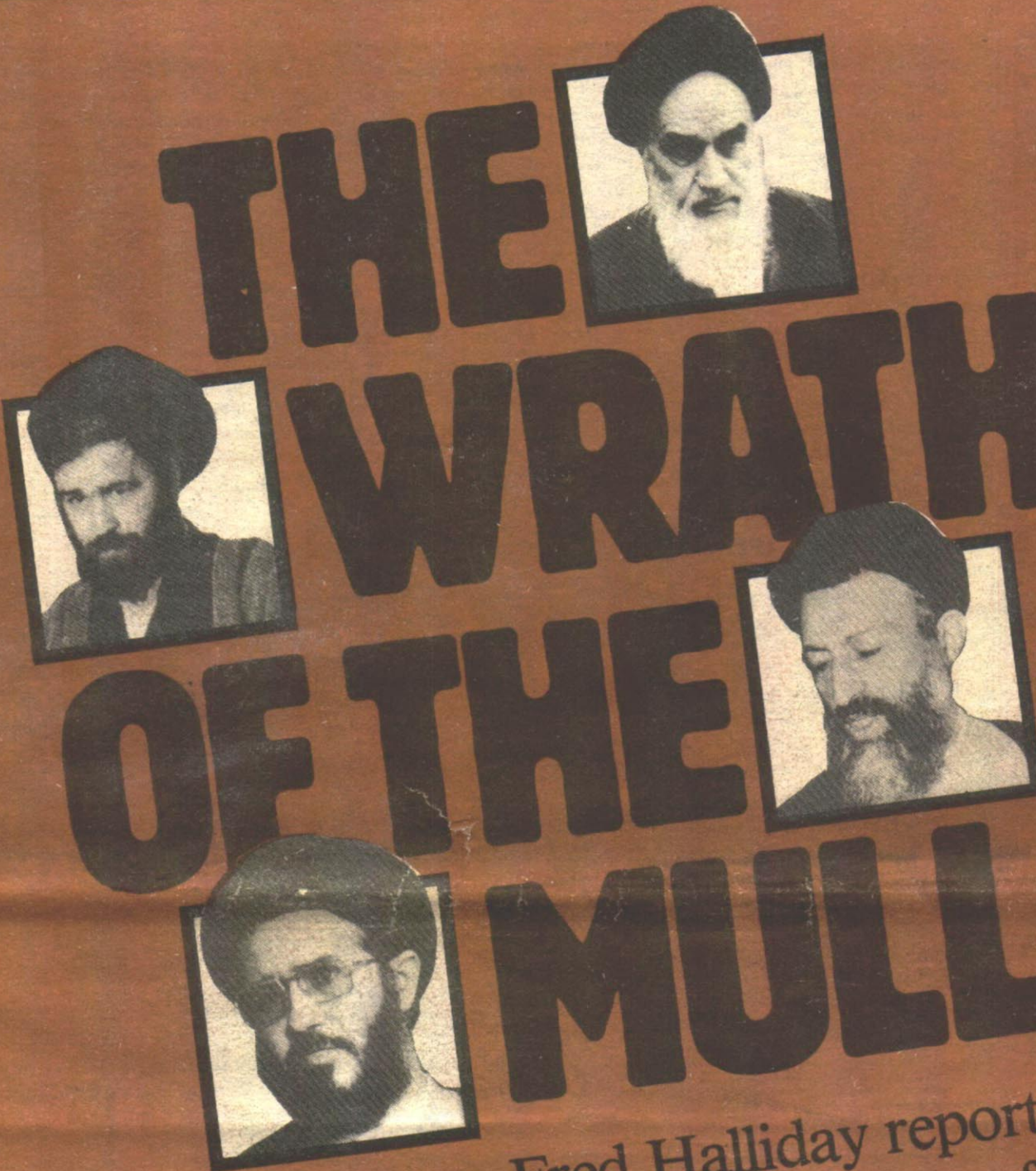


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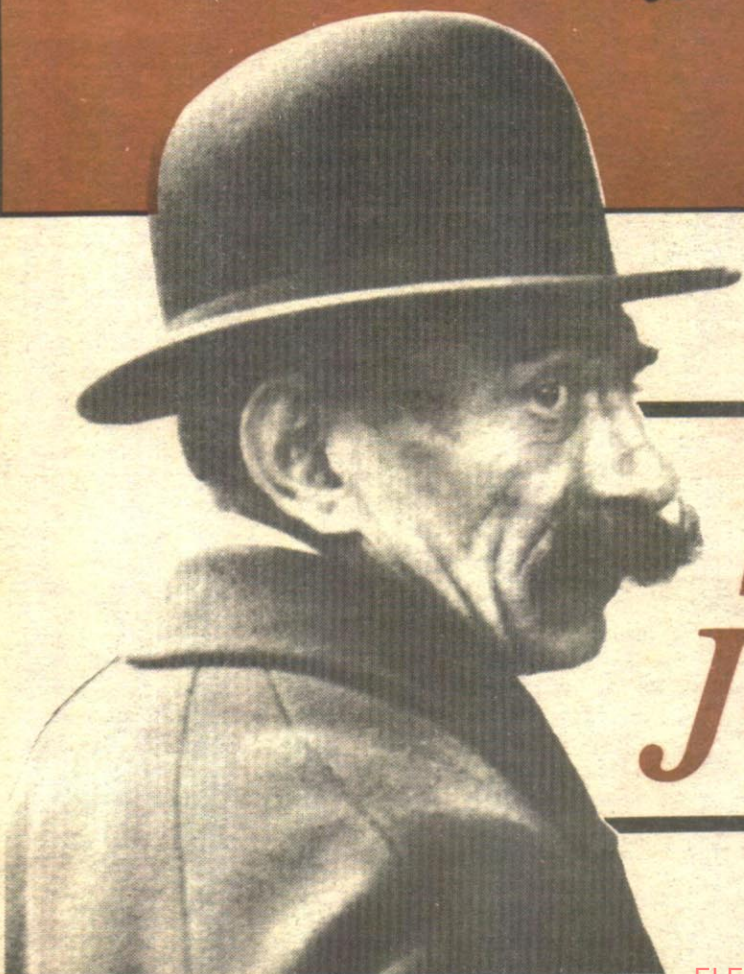
MAY 21-27, 1980

75 CENTS

THE WRATH OF THE MULLAHS

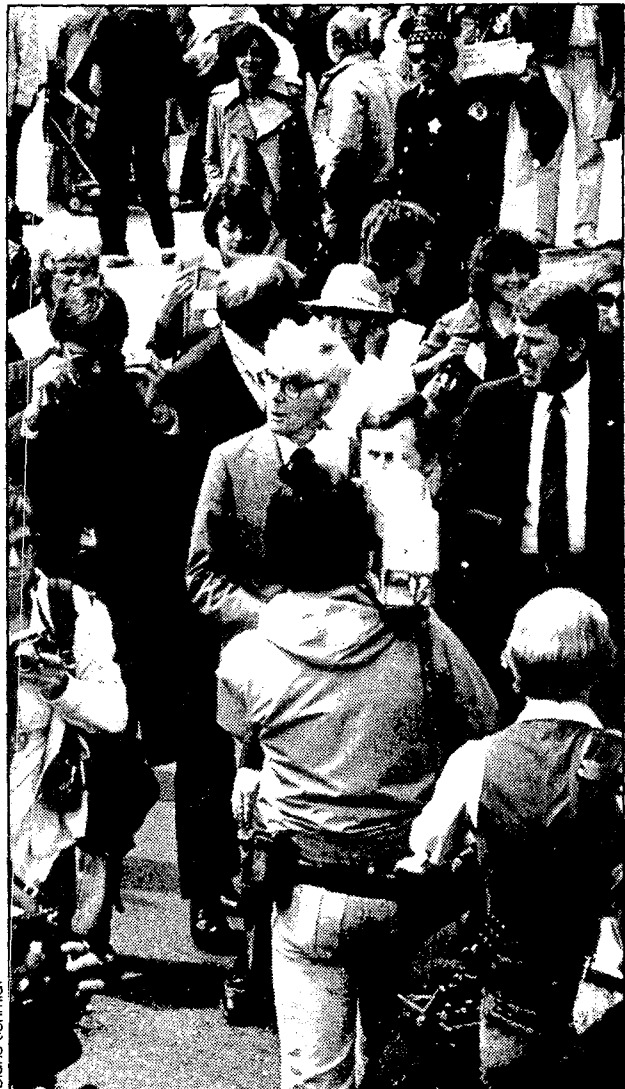


Fred Halliday reports on
the Iranian clerics' reign of
terror against the left. Page 9



SEEING *Page 12* JOHN BERGER

THE INSIDE STORY



John Anderson at the Chicago ERA rally May 10.

John Anderson's Lincoln strategy

By John Judis

John Anderson's independent candidacy for president is based upon the Republicans nominating a 69-year-old right-winger and the Democrats nominating a proven incompetent. If the Republicans had nominated a pseudo-moderate like George Bush or Howard Baker or the Democrats had gone for Walter Mondale or even Pat Moynihan, Anderson would have gained no support from establishment figures like Felix Rohatyn and George Ball. Without this kind of support, he would probably not have run.

Anderson's challenge, as he himself says, is not to the parties' collective orientation, but to the "nominating process," which, in the one case, screened out moderation and, in the other, screened out competence.

But Anderson's candidacy also signifies the inability of the "new middle class," as C. Wright Mills called it, to find a home in either party. This social group—formed out of the growth of new sales, service, technical and administrative employment since World War I—was supposed to form a new Republican majority by supplementing the old propertied middle class. But the college students, computer technicians, welfare workers, department store buyers, travel agents and middle managers have defied political categorization.

In Berkeley or Madison, they formed the heart of the "new left." In New York's West Side, they anchored traditional liberalism. And in Houston or Orange County, they provided the base for the "new right." If they have anything in common, it is a desire to be seen as "independents," rather than as Democrats or Republicans.

John Anderson's strongest support has been drawn from part of this "new middle class": college-educated independents, largely centered in the North and Far West, who have no fixed economic philosophy, but

who are socially liberal, concerned about the environment, and deeply resentful of political corruption, dishonesty and manipulation. In the past, they were attracted to "clean" Democrats like Eugene McCarthy and Morris Udall.

This group's vacillation between Republicans, Democrats and Independents is politically significant: it indicates the inability of either major party to build stable electoral coalitions.

But its support does not assure Anderson of a victory or even of a dependable base from which to operate. As a social group, these independents do not represent a single overriding issue whose resolution will shape the future of capitalism. Their concerns for honesty and social liberalism are important, but not central to any process of party realignment.

In the long run, they cannot form the basis for any new third or second party. And in the short run, they are highly susceptible to arguments that they risk war or depression (issues that transcend their own) by voting for an independent or third party candidate.

Anderson's strategy must therefore be based on expanding this "new middle class" base, which political observer Alan Baron estimates to be about one-seventh of the electorate. Only by doing this—and showing in the October polls that he actually has a chance of winning—will Anderson be able to counteract the "spoiler" arguments.

Enter Garth.

Anderson's primary campaign did not inspire confidence in his ability to do this. But prior to his announcement of independent candidacy, Anderson hired New York City political consultant David Garth to run his campaign.

Garth is personally credited with Edward Koch's upset victory in the last New York City mayor's race and with New York Governor Hugh Carey and New Jersey Governor Brendan Byrne's come-from-behind victories in their 1978 races. While Garth has managed some Republican campaigns, he is a centrist Democrat, with wide-ranging and impeccable connections in the party.

According to Sidney Blumenthal's *The Permanent Campaign*, a recently published study of political consultants, Garth turned down the job of running Senator Edward Kennedy's campaign, because he feared political interference from Kennedy's inner circle. There is also a story circulating that Garth visited Carter last December to discuss political strategy. Garth advised Carter that he should use his new-found popularity to gain popular support for daring new policy initiatives, but Garth discovered that Carter was interested only in his own re-election. This experience allegedly made Garth receptive to an Anderson independent bid.

The Garth-Anderson strategy will consist in trying to expand Anderson's base into traditional Democratic constituencies, while writing off the conservative Independent and Republican vote. Geographically, this entails what Anderson's Ripon Society advisers call a "Lincoln strategy."

In 1860, Lincoln got only 40 percent of the vote against his three opponents, but he won an electoral college majority by sweeping all the Northern and Western states except for New Jersey. In 1980, Anderson has written off the South and Southwest. He is hoping to win 35 percent of the national vote, which will translate into 40 percent pluralities in key Northern and far Western states. If Anderson can win California, Oregon, Washington, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Pennsyl-

vania, Connecticut and Maryland, he will have 273 electoral votes, two more than a majority. (If he can successfully challenge ballot access laws in Ohio and Maine, he could win 29 more votes).

There are two ways Anderson can appeal to Democratic constituencies in these states. One way is by choosing a moderate Democrat as a running mate. (Garth already has sounded out Carey about running, but he turned him down.) The other is by creating an attractive image for ethnic Democrats, blue-collar workers, and minorities. In Anderson's first campaign appearances, he has tried to do this, even at the expense of his past positions:

•In New York City on April 24, Anderson told a national women's conference of the NAACP that he favored "retargeting" federal aid to cities with high unemployment. In the past, Anderson has opposed House amendments to federal revenue sharing that would have targeted funds to states and cities most hurt by recession.

•In Detroit on May 2, he told a meeting of the Detroit Economic Club that he favored Felix Rohatyn's proposal to distribute the enormous oil severance tax revenues that would accrue to oil-producing states as a result of the deregulation of oil and gas prices. This proposal will win him little favor in the South and Southwest, but it will improve his standing in the North.

•In New York City on May 8, Anderson met with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Anderson had previously backed Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter's stands on Israel and on Palestinian autonomy, including their opposition to West Bank settlements, but he promised the Conference a more openly pro-Israel policy. He even pledged to move the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a move rejected by the past administrations because it would legitimize the 1967 Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

The spoiler.

Among traditional Democratic constituencies, he is most likely to attract Jewish voters, who are particularly important in New York, Connecticut and Maryland. But unless he modifies his past stands on budgetary issues and labor-backed legislation with the same dispatch that he modified his views on West Bank settlements, he is unlikely to attract the black or labor vote in the North.

Interviews with officials from the United Auto Workers and Machinists—the two most anti-Carter unions—detect little sympathy for Anderson. "I don't see how he can pick up many union votes with the philosophy he's shown in Congress," Illinois Machinist official Charley Williams said.

Black political analysts share the same skepticism about Anderson. "He's too wishy-washy," Chuck Stone, *Philadelphia Daily News* columnist and author of *Black Political Power in America*, said. "He'll be lucky to get 5 percent of the black vote."

Without some labor and black support, Anderson cannot possibly carry states like Michigan and Illinois against Reagan and Carter. At best, he will throw these states to Reagan by depriving Carter of the Democratic-leaning independent vote. As this becomes apparent in October, Carter will hack away at Anderson's "new middle class" base by raising the spectre of school prayers, the prohibition of abortion, rampant inflation, and world war.

Anderson could find himself following in the footsteps of Eugene McCarthy's abysmal 1976 campaign rather than Abraham Lincoln's 1860 campaign. ■

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This issue (Vol. 4, No. 25) published May 21, 1980, for newsstand distribution May 21-27, 1980.

IN THESE TIMES



PHOTOS BY AL DIFONCO



Gloria Steinam, Betty Freidan, Marlo Thomas, and Valerie Harper.

Spirited march but no vote in Illinois

Twenty to thirty thousand ERA supporters marched in Chicago on May 10, grouped in delegations from as far away as Alaska. Movie stars shared the stand with presidential candidate John Anderson and state politicians, while a "Mormons for ERA" airplane streamer looped over the crowd.

The march noticeably escalated the lobbying fight over a state assembly vote tentatively scheduled for the following Wednesday. Many who attended the Saturday rally in Chicago—including celebrities such as Norman Lear—traveled downstate on Monday and Tuesday to talk to legislators.

The Stop ERA forces responded in kind: Phyllis Schlafly—who had brought to late-April committee hearings on the amendment a string of fresh-faced high school girls who told legislators that they were afraid of combat—arrived at the state house Wednesday with fresh baked bread for the representatives.

Wednesday was a day of frenetic activity. President Carter and Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne kept the phone lines busy. One state representative was flown in from his sick bed to vote yes. But by day's end the amendment was still two votes short and Chicago representative John Matejevich—a house sponsor of the amendment—decided to delay the vote, perhaps until next week.

The all-day blitz subsided into recriminations and bickering—the pro forces accusing Republican governor Thompson of foot-dragging, and the anti's charging Jane Byrne with threatening retaliation on patronage jobs (even hinting at legal action on improper influence).

In an early evening press conference NOW president Eleanor Smeal told reporters that the decision to postpone the vote had been made "from a position of strength" and that ERA advocates can afford to move carefully and choose their time.

—Lee Aitken

THE MILITARY

Desert residents don't want the MX for a neighbor

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

ELY, NEVADA —POPULATION 6,000—is the county seat of White County in the Great Basin Desert. The closing of a Kennicott copper mine a few years ago has depressed the local economy, and an attempt (unsuccessful) by the Chamber of Commerce to have a state prison located there has given Ely a reputation as "the town that will take anything."

That is exactly what the U.S. Air Force is banking on, for Ely is located in the middle of the proposed 20,000-square-mile site for the MX mobile missile—the \$50 billion nuclear weapon system that will give America a "counterforce" capability against Soviet missile sites.

But despite a 25-person MX staff and months of "scoping meetings" and public debates, the Air Force is having serious difficulty selling the MX "racetrack" to the people who will have to live with it. Citizen protest throughout the Great Basin region, which spans eastern Nevada and western Utah, has become a major stumbling block to the Air Force project.

The pattern of response to MX throughout the western desert has been one of initial acceptance turning rapidly into bitter opposition as details of the project became known. Ely is a case in point. Last September, the Chamber of Commerce, which strongly supports the missile, published a poll showing 75 per-



cent of the respondents in favor of MX. But after congressional hearings on the missile were held in Nevada in October, public opinion began an enormous shift. By November, the Ely Daily Times in its own poll was reporting 83 percent opposed to locating the missile in the Great Basin region. The farm bureau, school board and hospital board of White Pine County all passed anti-MX resolutions.

And statewide, a sprawling coalition encompassing anti-nuke activists, environmentalists, farmers, ranchers, native Americans, and even dirt-road bikers formed Nevadans Opposed to MX with branches in Ely, Las Vegas and Reno.

Anti-MX groups in the Great Basin Desert have united more against the social, environmental, and economic impacts of the racetrack basing mode than against the missile itself. This has allowed for a degree of cooperation across political lines unusual on defense issues. "...No other controversial proposal in the last 20 years has encountered the opposition that the proposed racetrack basing-mode has aroused in Utahns," wrote the Salt Lake Tribune in February. "Most...favor development of the mis-

sile, but they don't want it carted around on 200 huge courses in the western desert."

Both governors are on record opposing the current Air Force plan. So are the states' four senators including hardcore conservatives Jake Garn and Paul Laxalt. "Public opinion has really turned," Garn told the Air Force in March. "You have serious problems in my state and Nevada. You have serious problems with me. And you could never accuse me of being anti-defense."

As always in the West, water is a central issue; citizens worry that the 172 billion gallons (enough to supply Reno's 72,000 residents for five years) needed for construction and 20 years' operation of the MX system will exhaust scarce resources and send prices soaring. Environmentalists charge that the system will destroy the fragile desert ecology. But perhaps the biggest fear is that the influx of over 25,000 construction workers and their families will create a boomtown economy of rampant inflation and social dislocation, ruining the isolated rural life of a region already under pressure from extensive energy development.

So far, the Air Force has offered vague assurances that all social and environmental problems will somehow be resolved and promised widespread economic benefits for hard-pressed towns like Ely. But the chances that MX will mean long-term economic growth are not great. Of the 48,000 direct and indirect jobs to be created during the system's construction, only 4,000 will go to

local residents; of some 28,000 operations-related jobs, only 2,000 will. "The benefits [of MX] are economic," said Brigham Young sociologist Stanley Albrecht. "They tend to be exported. The costs are social. They tend to be borne by the community."

The hard sell.

In recent weeks, the Air Force has redoubled its efforts to woo local citizens. \$170 million per year in federal funds has been promised to cushion the social impact ("and if the state wants more," said Undersecretary of the Air Force Antonia Chaves, "there will be more"). And two weeks ago during hearings sponsored by Garn and Laxalt, Defense Secretary Harold Brown announced that the controversial racetrack design had been abandoned in favor of a grid system with missile shelters along straight roads rather than loops. The Pentagon claims this will require 20 percent less land and 20 percent fewer roads, but in the absence of any comprehensive study of this alternate design, no one knows for sure. The change appears to be primarily an attempt to mollify local residents.

But at this point it may be too late. Community mistrust remains high and Air Force efforts to speed up the MX site selection process only confirms local suspicions. "Fast-track" legislation was proposed late last year to streamline the selection process and to force lawsuits brought during construction to be heard in Washington rather than local district

Continued on page 6.

IN SHORT

1,500 protest high mortgages

Lower income families are being driven from their old neighborhoods when they could be buying their own homes—if only they were able to secure low-interest mortgage loans.

That was the premise for a recent demonstration by 1,500 National People's Action members and supporters at the Federal Reserve Board where they pressured Fed chair Paul Volcker into meeting on the issue of tight money in the inner city. The group got no promises from Volcker, however, on its demands for the Fed to make money available at low interest rates to lending institutions such as savings and loans and for the bargain rate to be passed along to low and middle-income families who want to own their own home or buy a small multi-unit, income-producing property.

With mortgage rates hovering around 20 percent, People's Action chair Gale Cincotta says the April 14 demonstration and meeting and a subsequent meeting earlier this month were unique because the group went straight to the source of housing money rather than deal with bureaucratic red tape at agencies such as Housing and Urban Development.

Cincotta is angry that real estate speculators are able to get "cheap money and use people and then throw them out in the street." She says many inner city older residents who do own homes fail to see the value of their property amid recession and chaotic social conditions and opt to sell out for fast bucks and move to the suburbs.

For more details on the group's organizing and education efforts, contact National People's Action, 1123 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60607. Their telephone number is (312)243-3038.

Mental exams set for MOVE

Psychiatric examinations are expected before sentencing in the murder convictions of nine members of the anti-left, anti-technology Philadelphia religious sect MOVE, facing 50 to 100 years in prison each.

After 19 weeks—the city's longest murder trial ever—the group was found guilty of third-degree murder in the August 1978 death of one of the Philadelphia police officers who attempted to remove the sect members from their ramshackle Victorian house in the city's Powelton Village area.

The group, who had been attacking leftist groups in the integrated neighborhood before setting its sights on police, had brandished weapons and hoped up for 10 months prior to a 90-second shootout that left one police officer dead, three others seriously wounded and several members of the group slightly wounded.

Charged with first-degree murder, the group refused to cooperate with court-appointed defense attorneys who observers say might have made a case for reports of an unidentified man behind police lines who started the shooting and then was hustled off by police.

Rather than continue a gun assault on the MOVE house, police, fearing the group's use of some of their 11 small children as human shields, backed off but had the house bulldozed to the ground the same day. Destruction of the home—where neighbors say the group apparently intentionally bred rats—is expected to be cited in an appeal to the case, although MOVE says it won't accept the help of lawyers.



When factories shut down (above an East Coast victim of runaway shops) whole towns die.

Activists demand U.S. Steel study shutdowns' social cost

Shareholder activists garnered up to 6 percent approval of U.S. Steel's shareholder-votes on two resolutions calling on the steelmaker to formally study the social and economic damage it causes by shutting down steel mills.

The resolution proposals, which fell far short of adoption, were backed by a coalition of church groups and United Steelworkers Union activists from Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia at the company's annual stockholders meeting at San Francisco May 5.

Despite defeat in voting, members of the Tri-State Conference on the Impact of Steel said the results indicated at least some of the institutional shareholders, such as universities and public pension funds, have begun to take a hard look at plant shutdowns.

With more than 40 percent of the company's assets tied up in non-steel businesses such as chemicals and shopping centers, U.S. Steel board chair David Roderick told the meeting the company intended to stay in both the steel and capital management businesses.

Fiercely opposed by management, the resolutions called for a formal report on

the loss of jobs, reduction of tax bases and other social effects of shutdowns. A second resolution sought a management study of plans to build a new plant at Conneaut, Ohio, at the expense of steelworkers' jobs at other mills.

Activists pointed to studies, including one by Chase Manhattan Bank, that indicate the Conneaut investment will not be economically beneficial to the company.

With more than 25 protesters picketing outside the meeting room, Roderick told critics inside to expect more layoffs in what he euphemistically called a "downward adjustment of operating levels."

The "adjustments" began last week with announcements of shutdowns of blast furnaces at the company's South Works near Chicago, Gary Works in nearby Indiana, a mill at Fairfield, Ala., and still another closing at the Duquesne works in Pittsburgh.

Union officials say job losses in the Chicago area alone will top the 3,000 mark.

U.S. Steel's recent closing of 15 operations around the country has left at least 13,000 workers jobless.

Burton said the State Department's failure to respond to the LAN landing rights request was a weak form of a denial, but left the door open for a future approval.

At press time, private tour operators for the airline were booking flight reservations starting July 15 for trips from Los Angeles to Santiago, with a fueling stop in Lima, Peru.

Burton says inaction by the FAA will only encourage further terrorist activities and will undermine efforts by the Justice Department to get Chile to hand over members of the Letelier-Moffitt assassination squad to face charges in the U.S.



Orlando Letelier

Chilean airline called terrorist

Chile's national airline, LAN, has already begun booking flight reservations for Los Angeles to Santiago service beginning July 15 despite no response from the State Department on Chile's request for landing rights in the wake of charges that the airline knowingly helped Chilean secret police ship bombs and terrorists into the U.S. for the 1976 Washington murders of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and associate Ronnie Moffitt.

Earlier this month, House subcommittee on government activities and transportation chair John L. Burton, D-Calif., blasted the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) for "doing nothing" to investigate what he called a "pattern of LAN Chile of carrying explosive devices for terrorist activities" in the U.S. The airline is accused of carrying bombs into New York's Kennedy airport and helping agents of Augusto Pinochet's right-wing regime slip past customs inspectors. Burton told IN THESE TIMES that airline employees also rented cars for persons using false identification.

Letelier, a former cabinet member of Salvador Allende's freely elected socialist government, was living in exile in the U.S. at the time of his murder. Moffitt was sharing a ride to work with Letelier when their auto exploded in Washington's Embassy Row area.

City workers win in Youngstown

Youngstown, Ohio, police, firefighters and garbage collectors are back to work after winning a 4 percent wage hike after shutting down city services in a brief but effective work stoppage earlier this month.

Mayor George Vukovich gave in to demands for across-the-board 4 percent payraises retroactive to January after city workers stayed home up to seven days. In addition, the strikers were promised up to 10 percent pay increases if voters approve a one-quarter percent city income tax hike in October.

Fraternal Order of Police president Gene Sabatino, whose members kicked off the strike and maintained only one police cruiser for the city of 100,000 during their four-day walkout, said the reaction of citizens to the walkout was "great."

"The people of Youngstown were apprehensive but they were also compassionate and understood our plight," he said. Sabatino said there were no major crime problems during the period and that Mahoning County sheriff's deputies honored police picket lines and stayed out of the city.

Even Shorter

•Employees of Day Care Services for Children, Inc., Wisconsin's largest day care operation, have become the first Milwaukee day care workers to vote for union representation.

By a vote 80 to 58, workers said they want to be backed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 48.

Funded through federal, state and United Way monies, Day Care Services for Children had hired the union-busting consulting firm of Modern Management Methods, but was blocked in the move after an audit determined the day care agency was illegally using public funds to fight the union rather than care for children.

•Philadelphia's new police commissioner Morton Solomon has spelled out some new guidelines for gunning down citizens in the City of Brotherly Love.

Following a suit last year by the Justice Department over former mayor Frank Rizzo's approval of police brutality, Solomon, the appointee of new mayor William Green, says a police officer may use deadly force "to prevent death or serious bodily injury to himself or another person," but says that doesn't mean shooting when in doubt about the seriousness of the situation.

•Three Mile Island owner General Public Utilities Corporation's subsidiary, Jersey Central Power & Light, last week was granted a \$60 million annual rate hike to help keep it from going broke after the financially disastrous TMI accident.

GPU has also agreed to buy as much as 150,000 kilowatts of electricity from another utility due to output lost at the Pennsylvania nuclear plant.

•A feared June cutoff of food stamp funding has been narrowly averted, but activists say there may be a shortage of money later this summer.

With plans for major food stamp cutbacks in 1981 (IN THESE TIMES, May 14), last week's House approval of \$2.55 billion was about \$500 million short of the money activists say is needed to keep food stamp programs going through August.

IN THE NATION

POLLUTION

By Marchant Wentworth

WASHINGTON

ON EARTH DAY 1980, THE OLD Chem-Trol site in Elizabeth, N.J., exploded into flames, launching a toxic cloud toward Staten Island. Authorities were forced to cancel school and contemplate evacuation of the area. Only a lucky wind averted big trouble—and toxic waste experts now face a nightmarish clean-up problem: thousands of barrels of water used to fight the fire were contaminated and now have washed into the surrounding waterways. At this point, no one can guess what the final impact on the area might be.

Or consider Frank Kaler's story—another entry in the ever-expanding encyclopedia of toxic waste mishaps. Kaler lived next to a landfill in South Brunswick, N.J. His well water started smelling awful, so he called in Environmental Protection Agency chemists to test it. They confirmed what he'd known all along: the water contained chloroform, toluene, xylenes, benzene and a host of other organic chemicals.

Complaints to local and state health officials brought no results, so Kaler sued the companies using the site—industrial giants like General Motors, Shell Chemical and Ortho Pharmaceutical.

But Kaler's day in court ended swiftly when his attorney informed him that even if he won the case, there was not likely to be an award over \$10,000. Having already paid out \$7,000 for one expert witness and confronted by possible appeal costs of \$8,000, Kaler reluctantly agreed to accept a \$10,000 out-of-court settlement. "We were economically bludgeoned out of the courtroom," he said.

The horror stories go on and on. But had the EPA acted years ago, when it first became aware of the problem, disasters such as Love Canal might have been averted.

As early as 1973, staffers at EPA's Office of Solid Waste suspected that the old dump sites were threatening water supplies and endangering thousands of lives. And some staffers charge that EPA deliberately avoided the whole dump issue in order to protect their bureaucracy. In 1978, Hugh Kaufman, hazardous waste assessment specialist for the Office of Solid Waste at EPA, charged that "Costle and Jorling [two high-level EPA officials] and the White House are interested in covering up imminent hazard situations because they don't want to pay for the ultimate remedies. All they're concerned about is the political institution—protecting that."

Ignoring the past.

When EPA was established in 1970, the office of Solid Waste was put together with bureaucrats from the Bureau of Solid Waste Disposal at the Department



A shift in wind would have carried fumes from the New Jersey explosion over Staten Island.

Long-delayed toxic waste regulations are full of holes

Environmentalists have proposed a "superfund" that would collect fees from petrochemical firms to pay for dump monitoring and clean-up.

of Health, Education and Welfare. The sole purpose of the new agency was to regulate new and existing landfills. Pile some dirt on top of the graded garbage, build a baseball diamond and behold—an instant park. Never mind about reducing or recycling waste or wondering where last week's industrial gunk was winding up.

When it came time to create a new body of law, the agency said nary a word about the old dumps that were beginning to cause problems throughout the country with embarrassing regularity. The law—called the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act—was passed in October 1976. Along with a mandate to form committees and draft guidelines, EPA got only minimum enforcement author-

ity and no capability to respond to any of the environmental threats piling up in the files.

Since 1976, EPA had doggedly pursued a course of drafting, redrafting and re-redrafting the regulations under the Act, telling staff that the agency lacked the resources to deal with the list of dangerous dump sites.

Then, in 1977, came Love Canal. It quickly became evident that EPA was more or less powerless to do anything about the situation. President Carter was forced to declare the nation's first man-made disaster in order to supply some needed emergency relief for the victims of the toxic trash that Hooker Chemical left behind in the late '60s. Following the media trail of Love Canal, news of other contaminated sites began to trickle out: the Velsicol chemical dump in Toone, Tenn., other Hooker Chemical sites in Montague, Mich., and Lathrop, Calif., the Salsbury Lab's arsenic dump in Charles City, Iowa. People became aware that something was seriously wrong with the way hazardous waste disposal had been regulated in the past.

But the language of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act empowered EPA only to regulate present and future dump sites—to, in the words of the agency, "prevent future Love Canals."

Too little, too late.

Now, after almost two and a half years of delay, EPA on May 7, released their latest version of the hazardous waste regulations. The eight-inch pile of documents is just the latest installment in what the EPA has termed "the largest regulatory effort in the history of the agency."

Environmental Action and the Environmental Defense Fund, the two environmental groups that originally had sued EPA to get the regs out on time, are bitterly disappointed with the final results, which, they say, weren't worth the wait. Environmental activists are most bitter about the so-called small generator exclusion that allows firms producing less than one ton a month of hazardous waste to be excluded from most of the regulations. They also complain that the EPA's narrow definition of hazardous waste will allow additional dangerous wastes to slip through the system unregulated.

Environmentalists who despair of getting effective hazardous waste regulations out of EPA (which has a history of waffling under industry pressure) have proposed a stronger and more direct solution to the problem of chemical wastes. They want to set up a "Superfund" that would collect fees from industry to pay for chemical clean-ups. The fund would be available for emergencies such as repairing leaking landfills, providing water supplies for victims and, if necessary, for relocating families and providing medical help. It would also give state and local officials the resources to move more quickly on toxic wastes. In the past states and municipalities have dragged their feet, pleading lack of money and manpower.

But money is just one aspect of the Superfund solution. It would also erect a strict legal framework, extending the doctrine of "joint, several, and strict liability" to industries producing toxic substances. That doctrine would give victims a stronger case in court.

To no one's surprise, the petrochemical industry is fighting hard against any Superfund proposal, dragging out all the same old rhetoric—that it costs too much, that jobs will be lost, and that the law won't be fair. High-priced ad campaigns try to convince us that somehow it's our fault. Robert Roland, president of the Chemical Manufacturers Association, has said that the blame for chemical disasters "does not belong to a single company, or to a single industry, but to all of us as an advanced society."

Marchant Wentworth is a lobbyist for Environmental Action in Washington.

Who says it can't happen here?

The Sierra Club and Environmental Action have launched a national campaign to locate and monitor toxic waste disposal sites. Together the two environmental advocacy groups have published a pamphlet—"Hunt the Dump"—that tells citizens groups how to investigate possible chemical hazards in their own communities.

The pamphlet charges that government agencies, more concerned with present and future storage policies, have done little to evaluate the health risks at more than 3,000 sites where dangerous chemicals have been dumped since 1950. Most of these sites are on industry property away from public scrutiny.

Rather than wait on government action, the pamphlet urges local groups to conduct their own studies, becoming "part bureaucrats, part detectives." It provides a basic introduction to dangerous chemicals and current government regulations on dumping and sketches out a strategy for identifying and questioning local industries that use toxic substances. Wherever possible groups are urged to recruit their own experts to run tests and evaluate the finding.

The pamphlet is available from Environmental Action, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036, or the Sierra Club, 330 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003. ■

Missiles

Continued from page 3.

courts. Congressional opposition was so severe that it was never introduced.

The Air Force has also refused a request from Nevada Congressman Jim Santini to extend the comment period on this summer's Environmental Impact Statement by 30 days. And a recently leaked memo from Chayes to Air Force chief of staff Lew Allen revealed that the Air Force was contemplating a phoney environmental study of an alternative site in New Mexico and Texas to "prove" its inadequacy compared to the preferred Great Basin site. Said Utah Governor Scott Matheson, "I feel we're being boxed in so fast that we don't have any other choice."

Back in Congress.

But local opposition has succeeded in reviving the MX debate in Congress. Two anti-MX amendments are planned when the missile's \$1.5 billion research and development budget for fiscal year 1981 comes to the House floor sometime before the end of May.

The diversity of congressional opposition to MX is as bewildering as the mobile missile system itself. Liberals are generally opposed because they are against increased defense spending and the idea of a counterforce missile though others, especially in the Senate, support MX because of its links with SALT II). Anti-SALT conservatives oppose the basing mode because it was designed to comply with the treaty, although they favor the counterforce missile. Representatives from the Great Basin region are voting their constituents' line. And still others oppose the missile for various environ-

mental or budgetary reasons.

The most politically promising opposition amendment will be the one that can appeal to this diversity. Ron Dellums will reintroduce his proposal to eliminate funding for MX altogether (it received only 89 votes last year), but most opponents agree that a more moderate amendment by Paul Simon of Illinois has the better chance of success. Simon wants to delete the \$567 million targeted for the development of the basing mode, thereby forcing the Air Force to come up with an alternative. Air Force sources have claimed that this would effectively kill the MX program due to its extremely tight development schedule.

What are the chances of some kind of coalition forming around the Simon Amendment? Anti-MX lobbyists are optimistic; they think anything over 150 votes will be a significant victory indicating the start of a broad trend away from the missile. Other sources on the Hill

aren't so sure. The extreme diversity of opposition makes agreement on an alternative virtually impossible and in the words of one observer, "You can't fight something with nothing."

One alternate basing mode involving small diesel-electric submarines operating a few miles off the American coasts has elicited considerable interest in Congress. But the Pentagon insists it won't work and, at any rate, couldn't be ready before 1990. For the moment, MX's biggest advantage is its lack of competition. "It's nutty and Rube Goldberg and all that kind of stuff," explained one committee staff member, "but it may be the only game in town."

Whatever the outcome of this month's vote, the fight against MX will be long and tough. Following the cancellation of the B-1 bomber three years ago, the political prestige and credibility of the Air Force is at stake. And events in Iran and Afghanistan have made criticism of defense programs—however poorly conceived—politically dangerous. In this atmosphere, it has already become difficult to ask the hard questions about MX that the Air Force wants to ignore—whether vulnerability is a real threat, whether a counterforce missile is in our best strategic interest.

Over the long term, the chances are good that a "guerrilla war" of grassroots protest and local lawsuits can stop the present Air Force plan—"putting molasses in its path" in the words of one critic. But this also avoids the basic issue of what qualifies as adequate defense in the nuclear age. If the mobile missile scheme is defeated, Pentagon planners will be ready with some new version of the same counterforce weapon—perhaps the identical MX missile in Minuteman silos protected by an ABM defense system. The fight against MX is just the first in a long series of struggles to salvage what remains of arms control. ■
For information on the national campaign against the MX missile, write SANE, 514 C Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

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SCHOOLS

T.A. Strike ends at Wisconsin campus

By Keenan Peck

MADISON, WISC.

SOME 500 MEMBERS OF THE Teaching Assistant Association at the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus returned to work May 5 without a contract, ending a grueling five-week strike.

The union—local 3220 of the American Federation of Teachers—has been without a contract since May 1979. Representing about one-third of the 1,500 TAs at the UW-Madison, the TAA is one of the last unions of graduate student teachers in the country. The strike was essentially a battle to preserve the 11-year-old union, which won its first contract after a strike in 1970, though its status as a collective bargaining agent was recognized in 1969.

Large universities such as Wisconsin use graduate students to perform much of the actual teaching duties thereby freeing professors to do research. At the Madison campus, TAs teach approximately 65 percent of the introductory-level classes.

The strategy employed by the TAA for the duration of the strike was to stop teaching, picket deliveries to the University and urge undergraduates to boycott classes. In the first half of the strike, the undergraduate boycott successfully suspended teaching in much of the College of Letters and Science (liberal arts); support for the TAA in the Engineering, Agriculture and Business Schools was spotty.

Teamsters Local 695 refused to cross the picket lines, and Teamster bus drivers halted campus bus service for the first half of the strike.

The major issue that precipitated the strike—and that has yet to be resolved—was the university administration's refusal to sign a contract that provided for arbitration of grievances. TAA president David Hecker said that a contract without arbitration provisions would be unenforceable and "would not be worth the paper it's written on." Hecker and others in the union believe the administration is adamant about getting rid of arbitration because the last five grievances that went to an arbitrator under old contracts were decided in favor of the union.

UW Chancellor Irving Shain came close to admitting this when he told the University Faculty Senate on April 8, "The strike by the TAA is the latest episode in the 10-year harassment of the university by the TAA." But the official administrative position was that the university—as a state institution—does not have the authority to enter into a judicially enforceable contract.

A decision by the Wisconsin Court of Appeals in the middle of the strike ap-

"We didn't get the contract I'd hoped for," said union president David Hecker, "but we got the union I never dreamed of." Membership in the Teaching Assistants Association nearly doubled as a result of the five-week strike.

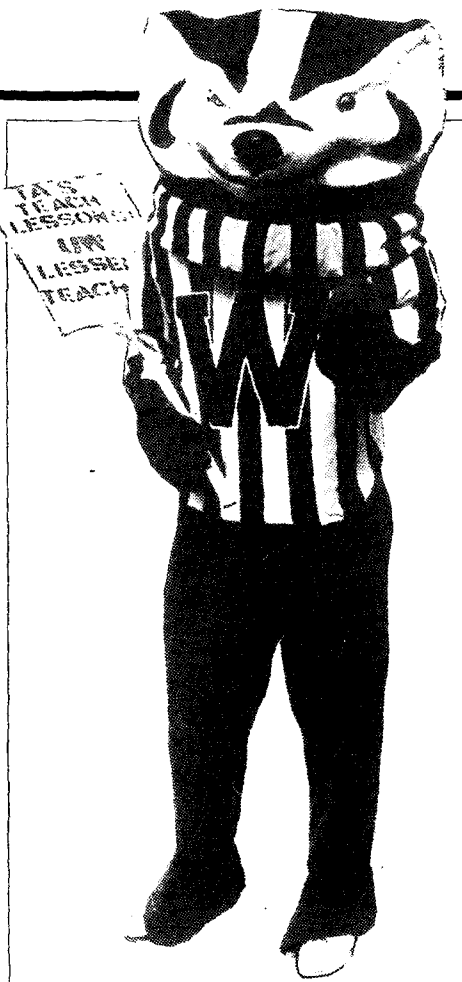
peared to support the administration's position. The court ruled that the lower court could not enforce a 1977 arbitrator's award that forced the university to negotiate wages with the union. "Our relationship with the TAA is invalid," Shain said after the ruling. "This strike is over something the TAA cannot attain."

But the court's decision did not address the original basis of the TAA/University relationship—the 11-year-old "structure agreement"—and thus did not invalidate the relationship as Shain had hoped. The strike continued.

Faculty governance.

University administrators attempted to portray the TAA as a threat to faculty governance, using the faculty as a force to break the union. (Any settlement university negotiators reach with the TAA must be approved by the Faculty Senate.) The TAA was—until late in the strike—requesting that hiring criteria for TAs be posted; the faculty was told by the administration that the union wanted to determine these hiring criteria. Furthermore, the TAA was asking that the class-size limit of the past five contracts be retained. Many professors interpreted this as an infringement on faculty rights (not as a working conditions issue) and sided with the administration in demanding that only "bread and butter" issues be negotiable.

The TAA tried to convince the faculty that their prerogatives were not threatened by final and binding arbitration. The head of the faculty committee on TAA negotiations, Michael Aiken, was not convinced: "Our experience has been that the arbitrators we've had so far do not seem to understand us or this university. We're not going to let that happen anymore," he told the Faculty Senate. Comparative literature professor Richard Jacobson responded, "I could understand that if one loses five arbitration decisions in a row, one might conclude that the arbitrator doesn't understand one." Jacobson and 140 other faculty members signed a petition that



affirmed "our commitment to the principles and practices of faculty governance in all academic matters" but that also supported binding arbitration, since it does "not represent a threat to the principles or practice of faculty governance."

Indeed, the petition contended that Shain was more of a threat to faculty rights: he forbade professors to teach off campus during the strike and is now trying to dock pay from the professors who did not cross TAA picket lines. Despite this, the faculty voted twice to support Shain's intransigence at the bargaining table.

Neither mediation through the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission nor concessions by TAA bargainers moved the university administration from the hard-line position it held throughout the strike. The TAA made more than its share of compromises. It

agreed to accept the administration's language on the posting of hiring criteria and on the definition of teaching assistant in exchange for TAA proposals on final and binding arbitration. (The union's proposal called for an outside umpire from another university who would understand the "collegial" atmosphere the faculty wants to maintain.)

Dwindling support.

With little support from the faculty and dwindling undergraduate participation in the boycott of classes (finals were fast approaching), the TAA changed its strike strategy. Instead of picketing all major buildings, the union implemented a roving picket of several hundred TAs that selectively disrupted classes. The undergraduate support committee, in turn, raised the ante by occupying several buildings. Two hundred undergraduates occupied the main office building for 30 hours on April 17, and took over the Dean of Letters and Science's office for 24 hours one week later.

Arrests stemming from these and other actions reached a total of 50 by the strike's end. More important, the undergraduate body was politicized to a degree unmatched by anti-nuclear or anti-draft activities on campus.

But in the end, even the direct-action strategy failed to move the administration. Finals—and summer—were nearing, so TAA members, hoping to salvage their union, voted to go back to work on May 5.

"We did not get the contract I hoped for," said Hecker, "but we did get the union I never dreamed of." Membership in the TAA almost doubled because of the strike.

Mediation continues as of this writing. TAA members are planning for another strike, if negotiations break down. Administration officials are doing some planning of their own. At a state Senate committee hearing on the TAA strike, Shain told the senators that he wanted to reevaluate the original structure agreement. "It's obvious that the university cannot deal with a social and political movement or protest using the rules of the structure agreement," he said. According to Shain, the "general furor of student unrest [in 1969] led to the formation of the TAA."

If the social movement of the '60s aided the fledgling TAA, the tepid political atmosphere on campus in the 1970s hindered the union's struggle. Most students did not know how to react to the TAA. Was it part of the student movement or part of the labor movement or both? TAA members and the newly politicized undergrads are now grappling with this question in preparation for the next fight.

Keenan Peck writes for the Daily Cardinal in Madison.

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LABOR

California's union carpenters face new open-shop offensive

By Hugh DeLacy

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.

IN AN UNPRECEDENTED SHOW OF solidarity, more than 800 union members called together by the Monterey Bay District Council of Carpenters met April 30 at the Santa Cruz County Fairground to hear reports on the new anti-union climate in the building trades. That climate has infected the current bargaining sessions between negotiators for carpenters in 46 northern California counties and the regional arm of the Association of General Contractors (AGC).

"We're in a battle for our existence as a brotherhood," declared Anthony Ramos, executive secretary of the California State Council of Carpenters. Citing a *Special Report* issued by the Building and Construction Trades Department of the national AFL-CIO, Ramos charged that "the Business Roundtable, composed of top executives of U.S. Steel, General Motors, Dow Chemical, General Electric and other giant corporations is spurring an open-shop drive among the biggest contractors in the AGC."

A national trade organization, the AGC collects dues from each member contractor—from a minimum of \$300 a year up to \$20,000—plus a pro-rated fee for each employee hour. The AGC also negotiates the master agreement that establishes basic wages, benefits and working conditions in each area.

"The AGC now brags that 60 percent of commercial construction nationally is non-union," Ramos told the crowd, "a thing unheard of in the '50s and '60s."

He went on to explain that the major



The Association of General Contractors claims that as much as 60 percent of all commercial construction is now non-union.

corporations, when they hire contractors for new construction, are urging them to use non-union labor. If the contractor is already tied to a union contract, he is told to organize an open-shop affiliate to do the job. In California, the AGC has been conducting seminars on how to go open shop. Six hundred contractors have sent notice to the office of the 46 County Carpenters' Council that they want to terminate their union agreements.

Although Dick Nunn of the California AGC claims a membership of 1,600, only 600 contractors have authorized the AGC to represent them in the northern counties bargaining session. Where the other 1,000 members stand is not yet known. Many presumably want no traf-

fic at all with the building trade unions. Others may be marking time, waiting to see how strongly the building trade unions respond and ready to sign interim agreements if a long strike ensues.

John Rebeiro, head negotiator for the new master agreement and executive secretary of the Santa Clara Valley District Council, listed the carpenters' demands: a two-year, well baby program (reflecting interests of the Brotherhood's large, younger membership), proposals for travel and subsistence pay to meet soaring gasoline prices, and increases in wage rates and fringe benefits. But the critical issue, Rebeiro insisted, is the contractual language governing the relation between the general contractor and the carpenter sub-contractor.

Under present language, the general contractor may let out his carpentry work to a sub-contractor only if the sub is also under union contract. That provision is central to the enforcement of contractual provisions for wages, hours, working conditions and benefits.

Although the AGC negotiators have

come to the table with a number of demands, they are insisting, according to Victor Van Bourg, attorney for the 46 County Carpenters' Council, that the sub-contracting provision be stripped from the new agreement.

Van Bourg, the last speaker at the rally, lamented the fact that members no longer know the words to the old union songs performed that day by Bay Area musicians. "When I was young in the labor movement," Van Bourg recalled, "we used to stand when 'Solidarity Forever' was sung. It is labor's hymn."

"Now," he continued, "younger members of this union don't care about the benefits for retiring members, and retiring members don't care about the well baby program."

"The big contractors will give you any dollar cost improvement you want this year," said Van Bourg, "if you will only agree to taking out of the present master agreement that clause governing carpenter sub-contracting. That's what they want."

"Let them hire non-union subs with non-union carpenters and this is what will happen. The worsening economic condition in the country and the sharp competition that will take place among non-union contractors bidding on the big jobs will force wage rates down and eliminate your fringe benefits."

"No law guarantees your pension fund, your health and welfare fund, your vacation fund. These benefits are yours only because of your union agreements and your power to enforce them."

"Lose your power to enforce your agreement with the general contractor, let this recession deepen, and when you're hungry, you'll work for \$6.00 an hour and none of your existing benefits."

"Stand together!" he concluded to applause.

The young president of Local 829, Santa Cruz, Jon Boutelle, was more specific. "Some of our local contractors are all right," he said, "but the local, open shop contractor who may find himself being used as the foot soldier in this conflict inadvertently represents in our community powerful, union-busting corporate leaders. The way negotiations have begun, it is us or them."

"No agreement in June; no work after June," is our message."

Hugh DeLacy represented a Seattle district in Congress 1944-46 and was a leader of the Progressive Party 1948-50. Since then he has worked as a carpenter in California and has been active in the carpenters union.

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IN THE WORLD

MIDDLE EAST

Rightwing clerics escalate attacks on the Iranian left

By Fred Halliday

LONDON

THE BUNGLED AMERICAN RESCUE attempt has been a setback not just for the release of the hostages but also for those forces inside Iran that now find themselves under attack by clerical conservatives. The Khomeini regime did not have to do anything to triumph over the American military mission or to release the London hostages. But the Tabas failure and the London denouement both have given Khomeini's prestige a free boost and enabled the clerical right to intensify its campaign against rival secular forces in an atmosphere where "foreign agents" are seen as standing behind all dissenting activity.

The death toll of eight killed in the desert and up to eight in London is small compared to the hundreds of Iranians who have died in the past month at the hands of the Islamic guards, the Iranian army and the mob of right-wing thugs known as the Hizballahis ("party of God people"). In Kurdistan the army has been bombarding the local population in a cruel and chauvinistic campaign of suppression. In the Arab-inhabited province of Khuzistan young militants demanding regional autonomy have been executed. Scores of left-wingers have been killed in officially incited attacks on university campuses. The clamor over the American rescue attempt has made these murders all the easier.

Khomeini's role in all of this is not a direct one, but he is nonetheless responsible for the turn of events. His speeches are full of wild statements—or, in plain language, lies—about how the leftists are agents of America and enemies of Iran. He has set the tone of blood-thirsty intransigence and hysteria in which the hanging Judge Ayatollah Khalkhali and the Islamic guards have gone about their business.

Much of what Khomeini says is little more than fourth-rate cultural nationalism, laced with a few quotes from the Koran. Rarely has a country been led by a man so incompetent in government, so ignorant of the world around him, and so insensitive to the demands of his people.

The role of the clerics.

The clerical forces are focused in the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) of Ayatollah Beheshti and Ayatollah Khamanei, the former now chairman of the revolutionary council, the latter the chief Imam of Tehran and an influential figure in the new regime's security apparatus. Khamanei, speaking to the crowds attending prayers at Tehran University, has incited the right wing to assault the left. Having scored a victory by rigging the first round of the parliamentary elections the IRP tried to repeat its triumph in the second round of voting on May 9.

In such a situation the influence of the lay Islamic elements has been reduced. While trying to take a more conciliatory line, President Bani-Sadr's foreign minister Ghotbzadeh and defense minister Chamran have in effect acted as outriders of the clerical line. It is not just on such issues as the U.S. hostages that they have been shown to be powerless, but also on the violence in the universities

Moderate Bani-Sadr, said one Iranian, has as "much power as a junior minister of housing."

and the fighting in Kurdistan. As one Iranian recently put it to me, "Bani-Sadr has as much power as a junior minister of housing under the Shah."

The charged atmosphere over the hostages has given the clerical right their chance to attack the left using spurious anti-imperialist rhetoric. In this sense the whole hostages issue has been profoundly negative for the Iranian people, whatever its international ramifications may be.

The most recent attacks—like an earlier round last August—have come for two reasons: first, the left's protests against the rigging of the elections for parliament; and second, the refusal of the central authorities to meet the demands of the non-Persian minorities. What provoked the clerical forces on the former issue was the very fact that people did protest. This led to the assault on Fedayin and Mojahidin offices in the universities. As a result the long-promised "Islamicization" of the universities is now being put through, and scores of independent staff, many of them people who fought the Shah's regime, have been fired in Tehran, Zahedan and Ahvaz.

The left's mistake.

The left has played its cards badly in the build-up to this situation. For the past few months it has concentrated all its fight on what it derisively calls "liberals"—that is, those like Bani-Sadr or former premier Bazargan who want a more cautious kind of Islamic regime and oppose the holding of hostages. The left also went out of its way to oppose the protest movements last December among the Azerbaijani Turks of the north, led by Ayatollah Sharriat-Madari. These "liberals" supposedly are still somewhat tied to imperialism and opposed to the continuation of the revolution.

Yet the main enemy in Iran is not the liberal camp, nor, given its present weakness, U.S. imperialism. Rather it is the clerical right with its policies of intolerance and its mania for bogus anti-imperialism. Indeed the liberals are, if anything, potential allies of the left against the Beheshti forces. But the mistaken campaign of the left—reminiscent of the communist parties in Europe on the eve of the fascist triumphs in Germany—has played into the hands of the clerical forces.

The strength of the left is hard to evaluate, not least because election results are faked. Certainly the Fedayin and the Mojahidin—both ex-guerrilla groups—have a following of tens of thousands, especially among students. On May Day



A funeral for Kurdish rebels killed in fighting on the Iran-Iraq border.

between 15,000 and 20,000 people attended the Fedayin rally in Tehran, and the Mojahidin leader, Masoud Rajavi—whom Khomeini banned from standing in the presidential election—draws up to 100,000 at his rallies.

The Tudeh party won 10,000 votes for its candidates in the first round of the Tehran parliamentary elections, but this included votes for clerical candidates the Tudeh backed and its Tehran May Day rally attracted only 2,000 to 3,000 people. The May Day rallies were not, however, a good indicator since many people most likely stayed away for fear of attack by the right-wing Hizballahis.

The minorities.

The failure to resolve the nationalities issues goes to the heart of the present regime's difficulties. There is no place in Khomeini's outlook, or in that of his lay acolytes like Bani-Sadr, for a mature political compromise on this issue. As Persian chauvinists, they resort to accusations about "foreign agents" the moment the issue is raised. Iraq certainly has given some support to the Kurds and Arabs in Iran, but it was not the Iraqis who created the problem or who sent the Islamic guards from pro-Khomeini cities like Isfahan to shoot up the minority areas.

At the time of the Shah's fall there existed a real opportunity to solve this major aspect of Iran's oppressive system and a willingness on the part of political leaders in the minority areas to reach a negotiated settlement. Now it is much more difficult. Kurdish villages are destroyed, Arabs seize the London embassy. The fault lies with Khomeini. In this, as in so many other matters, the rhetoric of an undifferentiated Islamic Revolution, which some outside observers see as so authentically Iranian, is in fact inappropriate for Iran, since it can only be imposed with as much violence and bloodshed as the monarchy that it successfully overthrew.

The situation in Kurdistan is complicated by the fact that there are serious political divisions between the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the spiritual leader Sheikh Izzadin Hosseini, who has the support of the Komelahi party. The KDP is somewhat sympathetic to the USSR, while not being an orthodox pro-Soviet party. (It is influenced by Maoist ideas.) While Hosseini has considerable prestige among Kurds, the KDP is militarily stronger and the cen-

tral government is trying to drive a wedge between the groups, isolating the Hosseini forces in Sanandaj and temporarily avoiding a clash with the KDP forces centered in Mahabad.

The military revival.

The Kurdish fighting has dealt back into the game another actor whose exclusion from the Iranian political scene can only be temporary—the army. Some of the initiatives in Kurdistan have been taken by local army commanders who want to make their name against the "enemies" of the revolution. Reports vary as to the state of the armed forces, but the regional problems and the confrontation with the U.S. have necessarily led the Khomeini regime to rebuild the army and to restore it to a prominent place in public life.

Yet reports also indicate growing discontent among army officers who resent the chaos and weakness of their country. And it is here that a more sinister scenario begins to come into focus in which American pressure over the hostages becomes a lever for a more comprehensive attempt to undo the Iranian revolution and place some nationalist general in power. There are hundreds of Iranian soldiers around the Middle East—in Egypt, Israel and Iraq—eager to take part in such a venture in alliance with forces inside Iran.

The growing discontent with Khomeini makes such a venture more possible. At the moment Khomeini's popular support in the Persian towns appears strong enough to prevent any such attempt, but economic and political problems may accumulate further over the next few months. The longer the hostages remain in Iran the more likely it is that such a combined operation may get under way.

The prospect of increased Soviet influence in Iran is also something that may spur the interest of Pentagon planners. It is worth recalling two things about Iran: it is the place where the Cold War began, in the Azerbaijan crisis of early 1946, and it is the scene of the CIA's greatest known triumph, the coup of August 1953. Khomeini's reckless tussle with Carter over the hostages, which has brought not a jot of benefit to the people of Iran, combined with his destruction of the political process within Iran itself, may create conditions in which all that was achieved in the long agony of the Iranian revolution is undone.

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute.

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

ONE OF THE SIX MEN KILLED by PLO bullets and home-made grenades in Hebron on the night of May 2 was a convicted small-time terrorist. Eli Haze'ev, a resident of the nearby Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, had been tried and found guilty for an incident last year in which a gang of Jewish settlers invaded homes of Arab Hebronites, smashing windows, furniture and bodies. But Haze'ev—an American-born Vietnam veteran and former FBI spy against the left who converted to Judaism—got a suspended jail sentence.

Another of the victims was a 19-year-old religious Jew from Canada who was spending a year of study in Israel. Shmuel Mermelstein was only visiting in Hebron, on a weekend outing sponsored by his school.

Two days later, several dozen Jerusalemites held a silent vigil outside the prime minister's office to protest the expulsion to Lebanon the day before of the Palestinian mayors of Hebron and nearby Halhul, along with a Hebron religious leader.

After watching police break up the "illegal demonstration" (permits must be applied for five days in advance) and arrest 10 of its participants for dispersing too slowly, I returned home. There I found a woman who had been a guest during the preceding weeks in between apartments in tears. She was an activist in the struggle to convince Israelis that occupation was poisoning the Jewish state; the 19-year-old Canadian killed in Hebron was her first cousin.

The best comfort was for her to express her anger: at the attackers—couldn't they see that indiscriminate killing only hardened Israelis' belief that peace with the Palestinians was impossible? And no less, at the settlers—how dare they use a young, non-political believer as a pawn in their dangerous game of antagonizing Hebron Arabs to the breaking point?

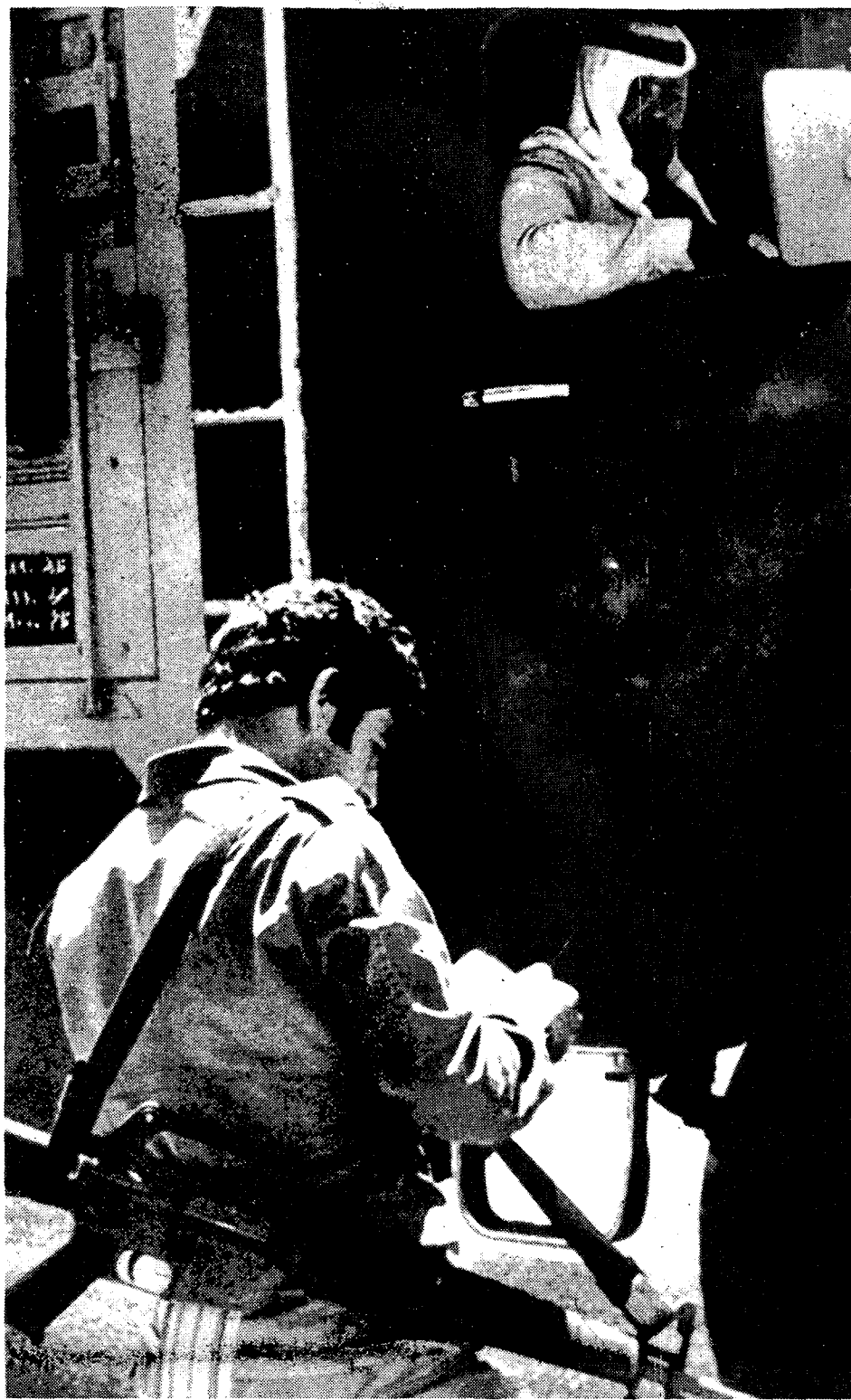
The fatal attack was new and shocking in its intensity, but no one really should have been surprised. With the Israel-Egypt-U.S. autonomy negotiations nearing their May 26 deadline, West Bank demonstrations (mostly by school children) and commercial strikes had multiplied during April. Stone-throwing, mostly at military vehicles and those known to belong to settlers, was becoming an everyday occurrence, grenades and molotov cocktails more frequent. Despite many arrests and increased use of force, the military government was unable to keep things quiet.

Militant West Bank settlers accused the army of being too soft. Much of their verbal fire was directed at defense minister Ezer Weizman, who takes autonomy relatively more seriously than his government colleagues, while the settlers openly hope that the talks will break down. A growing number of them, egged on by overt racists such as Meir Kahane, were regularly threatening to take the "law" into their own hands.

The last week of February, over 100 windshields were smashed one night in Halhul, a town north of Hebron through which the Jewish settlers must pass on the way to Jerusalem. No one has been apprehended. On increasingly frequent occasions, settlers fired guns "over the heads" of alleged rock throwers. And in late April, several days after dozens of windows were broken by Jewish settlers in Ramallah, Kahane and a few cronies passed out leaflets in the West Bank city warning Arabs that they better leave the country. It sparked a riot in which angry Palestinians were clubbed and tear gassed by the army, while the Jews "disappeared." Only a day later was Kahane "found" and arrested, and most of his partners in the incident have still not been located.

The omens multiplied even faster during the 36 hours preceding the Hebron attack. On May 1, May Day events were outlawed and forcibly prevented throughout the West Bank. One 16-year-old was shot dead by army bullets at a school in Anabta. Palestinian witnesses said he was participating in a demonstration. The military government said he had tried to take away an officer's gun.

ISRAEL



Israeli soldier checks papers of an Arab truck after a curfew was imposed on the West Bank city of Hebron.

Few surprised by West Bank attack

Then on May 2, the military government officially announced that it would adopt a harder-line policy to deal with escalating violence. And in the afternoon, leaders of some West Bank settlements ended a 45-day hunger strike, announcing that assurances of government action to insure the settlements' immunity from international law and of the acquisition of more land for them had been received. Unconfirmed reports said that 30,000 acres of private land will soon be expropriated by Israel.

Incidents of rock throwing and window smashing mounted steadily in the days before the killing, while the military's hard-line response was unable to keep things quiet.

Swift retaliation.

That evening, one minute of gunfire and explosions killed six Jews as they entered the Hadassah building, once a clinic for the city's Jewish community before it was wiped out in the Jewish-Arab fighting of 1929, and now occupied for over a year by Kiryat Arba settlers demanding to live in Hebron itself. The government once formally decided to remove them, but never found the strength to act, and a 24-hour army guard was posted at the site.

The military, unable to defend the settlers or apprehend the perpetrators, wasted no time in showing its muscle in other ways. Two buildings, housing 14 stores, from the roofs of which the ambush was apparently staged, were blown up and bulldozed. Other structures in the vicinity were expropriated, "to enable better security." And the three leading Palestinians, Hebron Mayor Fahd Kawasman, Halhul Mayor Muhammad Milhem and Sheikh Rajab Tamimi, were picked up at their homes around midnight, helicoptered to the border; they arrived in Beirut before noon Saturday.

There was not even any attempt to accuse the expelled leaders of being directly connected with the armed attack. Other Palestinian leaders close to the men feel that the real motive was intimidation, based on Israel's hope that if the pro-PLO political leadership of the West Bank stops speaking out against the autonomy plan, life under occupation will return to "normal." The day after the expulsions, all the other mayors were or-

dered not to speak to any journalists, and censorship of the Arabic press suddenly became much more heavy-handed.

Some observers quipped that the expulsions were carried out quickly so as not to allow defense minister Weizman, who took full responsibility for them, time to change his mind. Last fall, when the attempt was made to banish Nablus Mayor Bassam Shak'a, Weizman first backed, then opposed the move.

The latest expulsions were justified by the army's coordinator of activities in the occupied territories, General Dani Matt, as a response to "incitement" by the three men at Hebron rallies over the last few months opposing the government's settlement policies. But the authorities apparently knew that a case based on anything the two mayors and the Islamic judge actually said would be flimsy. A more probable reason for speed in sending them into exile was to prevent applications to the high court of justice. There, an order to delay would have been likely, and ultimately, there might have been a ruling that no grounds for expulsion existed.

To make sure that communist lawyer Felicia Langer did not manage to locate a justice during the few, pre-dawn Sabbath hours when it might have helped, her phone, plus that of Kawasman, suddenly went on the blink. Only the next morning, after her clients were already in Lebanon, did Langer hear the news.

The aftermath.

In the days following, Langer moved to get restraining orders against the expulsion of other West Bank leaders who had been personally threatened that they might be next. She also planned to appeal *post facto* against the banishment of Kawasman, Milhem and Tamimi. But the chances of the Israeli public soon getting a chance to hear what the deportees really believe is slim. They will not know that Milhem and Kawasman were among the West Bank Palestinian figures most interested in meeting and even cooperating with Israelis who offered minimal recognition of Palestinian rights. Milhem had recently met in Jerusalem with a group of Labor Party intellectuals. Kawasman publicly pinned high hopes on the moderately dovish Peace Now movement, and in March addressed several hundred members of the Cross-Party Committee Against Settlement in Hebron. He expressed support for their position favoring a West Bank-Gaza Strip Palestinian state to co-exist side by side with Israel.

None of the government "doves" questioned the expulsions. Nor did any central Labor Party figures, or even Peace Now, explicitly condemn them. But Labor secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev's comment in a parliament shouting match was scathing: "If the government had evicted the squatters from the Hadassah building, the incident would not have occurred."

On the left, the Committee Against Settlement in Hebron expressed "sadness at the loss of life," but pinned "moral responsibility on the government for giving a free hand to Gush Emunim and its endless acts of provocation."

While Rabbi Moshe Levinger—leader of the Kiryat Arba settlers—called for Weizman's ouster and demanded that Arab stone-throwers be expelled from the country, and that soldiers be given more freedom to shoot, more strikes, demonstrations and rocks throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip were being met with force. That night, more Arab car windows were smashed and an Arab taxi driver was shot in the head by a passenger in an Israeli army uniform.

Prognosis for the near future: more of the same, and probably worse. But in Israel proper, there is a spreading feeling that the West Bank settlers are becoming more isolated from the still-silent majority who feel they have more important worries than repossession of a few once-Jewish houses in Hebron. No one has said so out loud, but in farms, factories and neighborhoods where "money for slums, not settlements" has become a truly popular slogan over the last six months, there is an undertone of recognition that the Hebron massacre victims got not so much what they deserved, but perhaps what they asked for. ■

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Famine stalks Kampuchean recovery

By Chris Mullin

PHNOM PENH

"MY FAMILY 'BEAU-coup die," said a girl who runs a breakfast stall in Phnom Penh market, trying to explain the fact that she was almost alone in the world.

Her father, a seaman, had died in what Kampucheans now refer to as the Sihanouk time. In the Lon Nol time she had married an Air America pilot and tasted the good life in Tehran and Singapore. By him she had a child who returned with the father to the U.S.—she does not expect to see the child again.

In the Pol Pot time she had fled to Vietnam to escape the holocaust. That was when the rest of her family—mother, uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, disappeared. In Vietnam she married a Kampuchean film star by whom she had another child—a little girl.

Now in Kampuchea it is the Heng Samrin time and she is back running a soup stall in the market at Phnom Penh. Her film star thought better of returning and remained in Saigon. She does not expect to see him again either.

She is 28, but looks older. And her short life spans the four seasons by which Kampucheans now measure their lives. Sihanouk was, for most, a time of peace; Lon Nol, the time of the American war; Pol Pot was the time of the holocaust; Heng Samrin—well, no one is quite sure.

Phnom Penh itself, derelict just over a year ago, has come back to life with a speed that has surprised even the most optimistic observers. The market is full of vegetables brought in by peasants from the surrounding countryside; cyclos and pony traps and soft drink stalls are back in business again; there are cigarettes that have infiltrated all the way from Thailand and American cigarettes that retail cheaper than in Saigon; even the goldsmiths are back in business weighing out tiny ingots in exchange for wads of Dong—Vietnamese currency—handed over by the vegetable sellers.

Smiles are returning to the faces of a people who had forgotten how to smile.

But appearances are deceptive. Around the corner lurks a new potential disaster: another famine. The main rice crop—which should have been sown last June when most people were still on the move back to their homes—produced only about a quarter of the food needed for this year. The much smaller winter harvest reaped in March has been hit by drought and a shortage of seed.

This means, according to foreign minister Hun Sen, that Kampuchea will need about 220,000 tons of foreign grain if the country is to avoid famine until the next main harvest in November. Mr. Sen, speaking in Phnom Penh, said that Soviet bloc countries had pledged to supply more than half the amount needed and he appealed to international agencies and private relief organizations to provide the balance.

Most Western governments still seem reluctant to respond to appeals for aid to Kampuchea partly because they do not recognize the Heng Samrin regime—installed by the Vietnamese—and partly because of the stories that aid is not reaching the people for whom it is intended.

Although Western aid sources in Phnom Penh admit there have been distribution problems, they attribute these mainly to inexperience and lack of facilities rather than malice. Not all the available resources are being properly used: trucks are leaving the wharfs only two-thirds full; in March the railway to Kompong Som was taking only two trains a week. Until the end of March all government employees were being paid in rice—in the absence of money—with the result that there was often little left for those in need. Battambang Province, for example, has been providing less than a kilo per person a month to its population of more than 800,000. Provincial hospitals in Pursat and Kompong Chhnang are still reported to be without doctors, which is puzzling in view of the offers of medical help pouring in from abroad.

Faced with another impending famine, aid officials are trying to get 70,000 tons of food into the country in two months, but the infrastructure just isn't



A young recruit in the army of Heng Samrin.

up to it. At the moment the main bottleneck is Phnom Penh's port on the Mekong River, where a large part of the wharf has fallen away.

Between May and November most people in Kampuchea will be entirely dependent on food aid from outside, but the next three months will be the most crucial. During that time the next harvest has to be planted and that can only be done if enough seed is distributed and if people are in good enough health to actually plant the rice.

The prospects are not entirely gloomy. Most aid experts in Phnom Penh agree that just one good harvest would be sufficient to put Kampuchea well on the road to recovery. The rivers and lakes are teeming with fish that, in the absence of fishing nets, have been dying of old age. A survey by Oxfam shows that no less than 60 of the country's 82 factories are—given raw materials—ready to resume production and many have already done so. The only question is whether the undoubted advances of the last year can be consolidated.

A matter of record.

To understand the problems facing the new regime it is important to appreciate what has gone before. Despite a persistent suspicion on the left that the Khmer Rouge regime has been unjustly maligned, it is now a matter of record that the Pol Pot regime began by systematically murdering almost the entire ruling class of Kampuchea—not just officers of the old regime, but anyone who betrayed any signs of education. Later, in 1977-78, they embarked on a new round of purges; this time against their own Khmer Rouge organization in the wake of a series of coup attempts by elements favorable to Vietnam.

Khieu Samphan—who is now said to have replaced Pol Pot as head of the Khmer Rouge—has in a moment of unprecedented frankness recently admitted that they slaughtered maybe 10,000 people during their five years in power. It is unwise to get involved in the numbers game, but one does not need a computer to realize that Khieu Samphan is being uncharacteristically modest about the achievements of his regime.

Visitors to Phnom Penh these days are taken on a gruesome little ritual tour of Khmer Rouge handiwork. The highlight is the Toul Sleng prison (a converted high school), which has records listing over 16,000 inmates of whom only five are said to have survived. Pictures taken

by the jailers of more than 2,000 victims are displayed around what were once the classrooms. It is a haunting spectacle replete with far too much circumstantial evidence to be some gigantic hoax.

There are photos of nurses from the hospital, technicians from the textile mills and the water works, a film star and several Sihanouk ambassadors who returned from Paris in 1976 in response to a call to return and help rebuild their country. There are even children and bewildered grandmothers, there for no other reason than that they had the bad luck to be related to one of those who incurred the wrath of Ankar—as the Khmer Rouge called their shadowy organization.

The most staggering fact is that over 80 percent of those murdered at Toul Sleng were Khmer Rouge. For the most part the victims—who all either had their throats cut or their heads stove in with a hoe—were simply frightened boys and girls of the sort who make up the bulk of the Khmer Rouge army.

The most distinguished victim was Hou Nim, one of the handful of top leaders of the Khmer Rouge and a long-time comrade in arms of Khieu Samphan. The records show that he died at Toul Sleng in 1977.

Of course there is no need for the visitor to believe any of this—though it is graphic enough. Instead he or she can take a car along any of the roads out of Phnom Penh. Choose any road, no one will prevent you. Drive until you want to stop at a village, any village, and ask what happened in the Pol Pot time. I drove one day to Kros, a village 18 kilometers along the road to Battambang. The village I chose at random had a population of around 2,000 before the coming of the Khmer Rouge. Today there are just 853, most of them women.

Or in Takmau, a little to the South of Phnom Penh, I stopped without warning at the home of my guide's sister-in-law. She lived in a large bare room which she shared with another girl. In one corner was her bed, a bamboo mat and a tiny bundle of possessions. From under the mat she pulled out an envelope of tattered family photographs, preserved because they had been rolled up and stuffed into bamboo for the duration of the Pol Pot regime. One of the worn photos showed the girl and her husband on their wedding day. He died in the Toul Sleng death camp. Another picture showed the girl with her parents and four brothers and sisters. Today not one is alive.

Altogether, in the course of a short visit, I asked about 50 people how they were affected by the Pol Pot regime. Only one, a waiter in Phnom Penh's Samaki Hotel, said his immediate family was intact.

Starting from scratch.

These are the circumstances in which Kampuchea has to face the future. Many of those now doing their best to run the country were students when Kampuchea was last at peace. The foreign minister, Hun Sen, is himself only 30 years old. The army is tiny; the civil service consists largely of minor officials from the old Lon Nol regime; the Communist Party (after all, Cambodia is supposed to have a Communist government) is minute.

For the moment the Vietnamese are filling the power vacuum while frantic efforts are going on to build up the Heng Samrin regime into a credible government. An army is being trained from the very limited supply of young men who remain. A Communist Party is being constructed from scratch and important officials keep disappearing for lengthy sabbaticals in Moscow or Hanoi.

Meanwhile, there are Vietnamese advisers in every ministry; Vietnamese troops along every highway and even on the gates of the old Royal Palace in the

Continued on page 22.

The distribution of aid has served to destabilize the country. While the motives of UNICEF and the Red Cross are clearly humanitarian, the U.S. role looks suspicious.



Photos of executed Khmer children.



Henri Cartier-Bresson

SEEING RED

By Richard Appignenesi, with Leonard Quart & Pat Aufderheide

EGLISH WRITER JOHN BERGER is the foremost Marxist critic of the visual arts, as well as a screenwriter of note, a TV producer and a novelist. At 54, he is in his thirtieth year of critical analysis of the relationship between art and society. His clarity, commonsensical expression and his optimism distinguish him as much as do his startling insights into the social construction of art.

After almost a decade of writing art criticism Berger published his first collection of essays, *Permanent Red* (1960), followed by his iconoclastic *The Success and Failure of Picasso* (1965), *The Moment of Cubism* (1969), *Art and Revolution*, about the dissident Russian sculptor Ernest Neizvestny (1969) and *The Look of Things* (1972). *About Looking*, his latest essay collection appears this month (see review, this issue).

Between 1958 and 1972 Berger also produced programs on art for the BBC and Granada Independent TV. One of those programs was *Ways of Seeing*, a Marxist response to Kenneth Clark's *Civilization*, and out of which a book of the same name was published.

Berger's novels include *A Painter of Our Time* (1958), *G.* (1972) and *Pig Earth* (1979). Berger was awarded the top fiction award in England, the Booker Prize, for *G.* Berger publicly announced that half his prize money would go to the Black Panthers to fight exploitation of black sugar plantations workers by Booker Ltd. in the West Indies, while he would use the other half to continue his work on Turkish and other migrant laborers in Europe, *The Seventh Man* (1975).

Finally Berger has also worked with Alain Tanner in filmmaking. Their collaboration began with his commentary for Tanner's film *A City at Chandigarh* (1968). He went on to write scripts for three films with Tanner: *La Salamandre* (1971), *The Middle of the World* (1974) and *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000* (1976).

Perhaps the single most striking thing about your work is its variety—you've worked in fiction, poetry, films, TV, criticism of the visual arts and photography.

I think I moved from area to area, which means from method to method, because of what I found in each area. I wrote about painting, then became interested in history and became more precisely interested in social movements and the action of people making their own history.

Eight or nine years ago when I was first working on *The Seventh Man*, a book about migrant workers, I conceived of it

as a book about the political implications of an industrial phenomenon in postwar Europe. I knew most migrants came from villages, but meeting and talking to them I became more and more conscious of the importance of where they came from—the villages of southern Europe and north Africa. So when I finished the book I decided I wanted to know much more about rural life and peasants, a theme I've been working on for the last four or five years.

If such a development is a little unusual I think that's because I never went to a university. I ran away from school

when I was 16 and then I went later to an art school. But art schools, especially in those days were really technical colleges.

In universities these categories of experience and learning are set up and separated, one from the other. One might even say that one of the major functions of universities is to divide people up, to prepare them for the labor market in that way.

People ask me sometimes, usually quite aggressively, "How can you write about migrant workers? You've never been a migrant worker." I can reply, "No, I haven't, but I've talked to many, I've lived beside them," and so on. But that's not the answer. Because storytellers have always based their storytelling on the principle that it is possible to tell the experiences of other people.

It is only relatively recently, since the 19th century, that the faculty of imagination has been questioned. It has always been recognized as a human faculty. Now it is thrown into question as the result of the positivist trend of the thinking of our culture. Whether I'm writing art criticism, social studies or fiction, evoking my imagination and then defining what that imagination discovers is half the effort of the writing.

The other half is the struggle with language itself. That struggle is a historical phenomenon. I'm convinced that in some periods it has been relatively easy to write. But now the language we inherit in our part of the world—the cultures of Europe and North America, the cultures of colonialism, the cultures of modern, corporate capitalism, the cultures that exploit and live off the rest of the world—is untruthful. It has been so abused in terms of the directness of its reference to reality that it is corrupt, tainted. Sometimes deliberately, but more often by an inbuilt hypocrisy toward the reality on which that culture is based.

A very obvious example is our use of the word "freedom." But it is far far greater than that. Therefore the struggle to write is a struggle to use language in a way that rejects untruth.

The things I write always come out of

THE VISION OF JOHN BERGER

PART ONE

"We are surrounded by a gigantic wall that cuts us off from any different future, and isolates us from our past. All art should be addressed to that possible future, because little bits of it exist within everybody."

some kind of lived experience. In that way I don't consider myself a professional writer. A professional writer, the whole notion of profession, is a 19th century middle class term. There is a division in middle class professionalism between what one is living and what one is doing. Not by any virtuous decision on my part but because of my temperament, I'm not capable of doing that.

I'm always obliged to live as closely as possible to what I'm writing about at a given moment. For example when I was an art critic, probably more than most art critics I more or less lived in painters' studios. I have lived among painters in London, among political activists, and now I live among peasants.

You emphasize the collaborative process. How substantial a part does working with people play in your conception of your work?

I like working with other people very much, and I think there's a whole lot of work in which a small group of people working together can produce an adequate work. For example *Ways of Seeing* was made out of discussion, arguments and that strange process in which intuitions and telepathy and bloody rows all played a crucial role. At the same time the text, even in that book, was written by myself in isolation. I don't think writing is easy to do in any group.

I think of myself as an articulator of experience, and obviously my own experience helps me to articulate the experience of others. But essentially I see myself as a vehicle for the experience of others. I don't have a view of the writer as solitary and independent. I don't feel that working with others is a lessening of myself.

The idea that the artist or writer is a solitary, self-expressive genius is the view that has dominated Western culture since the Romantics. It's not that I reject the Romantic position, because when Romanticism was born it was heroic, and it was perhaps the only possible way of questioning what they saw around them. But today there are other methods and views of the role of art.

Do you believe that working differently with people can produce a new kind of writing?

The Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative is extremely important for me. Our attitude to publishing comes out of the way that we work together, but it is also determined by our view of the value and function of the books. This attitude is quite distinct from that of commercial publishers. One has to see this in terms of the recent development of publishing. During the last 25 years, increasing during the last decade, books have become a commodity like any other. Publishers think out a book because they think it is going to seek out a certain market demand, then they look around for somebody to make that book. It's made, it satisfies that instant demand, then the book is abandoned.

The whole notion of literature, that writing is a form of social memory, a kind of recording of experience, of the past for the benefit of the future, has been abandoned.

We as a cooperative think of the reader, not as a consumer but as the absolutely essential element in the existence of that book.

As a writer, because of the nature of this cooperative, I do not feel myself exploited. I do not feel myself being used simply as one element in the production process.

In the 19th century a writer became a friend of the publisher. The basis of this apparent friendship was a certain belief in the function of literature, which implies a continuity—a continuity that doesn't exist as soon as books are published as commodities.

Nevertheless if you really examine the correspondence and records between these publishers and writers, you usually find beneath the surface a suppressed hostility, suspicion and paranoia. It can be explained rather simplistically by saying the publisher exploited the writer. And that's partly true.

But more than that, their hostility is due to a separation of the two functions. The writer worked alone, trying to produce his material, and the publisher published it. In that difference of function

there is often a difference of economic interest. There's also a difference of judgment. The writer, if he is serious, is writing because he is compelled to write, because he thinks it must be said. The publisher, even in the 19th century, is asking him or herself, "Where can I place it?"

The cooperative method of publishing socializes that relationship.

What is the work of the art critic in the '80s?

The whole situation of the fine arts, of painting and sculpture at least, has changed so much during the last 25 years that both these arts are in crisis.

The bottom has fallen out of the art market, for contemporary painting, all over the Western world. At another level one could talk about the stylistic crisis. When you have paintings that are flat surfaces, where can you go?

The two arts appear to have entered a *cul de sac*. Maybe this *cul de sac* is simply the end of a particular period, when these arts were produced for the market as aesthetic objects for the privileged rich to buy and hang as a kind of cultural trophy. That period only became generalized in the 19th century. It is a very, very small period if one considers the whole history of the visual arts. The end of that period, which was an enormous narrowing of the possible function of the visual arts as a human expression and a means of giving some meaning to life, is not to be regretted.

At the same time, because this crisis has occurred prior to any radical social or political change or revolution, it is difficult to see the alternative functions and processes by which artists can communicate with people at large. What has happened in the socialist countries has not been able to give an encouraging answer to that question, because of the bureaucratic and vastly over-dogmatic censoring and control over those arts.

So in a situation of such a crisis, it is very difficult to say what a critic should do. It is hugely inadequate simply to record one's personal reaction to any given work of art, especially contemporary art.

Ten years ago I wrote that I thought oil painting had served its historical purpose and had nothing much left to do. I think I would say that now with less assurance. At the same time the basis of that argument—that the oil painting is designed precisely for an interior and because of its size and cost, inevitably a relatively privileged interior—seems to me to remain a very very grave limitation. But one can't think of art in those rather crude technological and social terms, because there is always the work that is exceptional, that transcends those limitations, at least as an image giving meaning to something serious.

I would be more confident in talking about drawing. I'm not thinking of any particular style or school of drawing but that process of interrogating what one sees in front of one, which is the process of drawing. I think that is fundamental to the human experience of the world. That experience of the visible offers answers and explanations, or for that matter poses questions that no other interrogation of the real world can do. Which ever social-historical developments take place, I think people are going to go on drawing and some people are going to go on looking at drawings, and I see that activity as positive. Whether that drawing then leads to oil painting or other forms of image making is a secondary question.

Drawing, however, is something that you learn. And skill once it is lost—and it has to a large degree been lost—is quite difficult to re-establish.

In the art schools many of the painters who still teach have not practiced this skill themselves. Drawing requires continual practice, and therefore a teacher of 44 or 45 years old probably learned drawing in an art school. But let us say for the last 20 years he has produced abstract painting. The chances are that he has lost that skill.

In most art schools today the teachers no longer teach, because they don't know exactly what to teach or they no longer have it in them. Much art teaching now is like a kind of therapy. Self ex-

pression is one thing, but you can't adequately express yourself as an adult unless you learn the language with which to express yourself. And for the visual arts that language is drawing.

One shouldn't romanticize those traditions, because from the 19th century onwards those traditions were very rigid and academic. But nevertheless, somewhere in that deadness a skill was transmitted.

When you haven't got anything even to revolt against as a student you are in a vacuum. You have nothing to learn and nothing to revolt against. There's always a dialectic between a pupil and a teacher.

But even in this very minimal state in which art schools exist I still strongly defend their existence. They are a place where people who don't make it into the more elevated educational institutions for one reason or another nevertheless have three or four years in which to live a little, look at films, to think, to talk, to discuss before they are pushed into that ruthless work machine that is either the factory or the modern office. So it's a kind of reprieve.

How do you see the relationship between your writing and your political opinions? People on the left always ask that question. The right does not bother to ask or to answer that question.

On the left I think there is a great deal of confusion, wishful thinking and sentimentalism about this. First I think one has to realize very, very clearly that in almost all circumstances, if you are urgently, politically committed, and you give absolute priority to the political transformation of society or the political progress of a class, then you shouldn't be in one of the arts.

I'm leaving aside journalism there, and a certain amount of agitational propaganda, although increasingly on the left that traditionally conceived propaganda

is proving ineffective.

But leaving that aside, if you want to be primarily politically effective you should be on the shop floor, in the street, maybe infiltrating the civil service, the army, a whole series of things including activities that are called treacherous and subversive.

I think it is the uneasy conscience of intellectuals and writers, to try to evade this simple fact. Writing books, painting pictures, composing music, dancing, is not in the immediate sense a very effective political activity.

That's not to say that politics, political history and the history we try to control, that that struggle has nothing to do with the arts. Of course it has. But it is a much, much longer term process and a much less direct process.

I don't consider myself as a writer who "has politics." I consider, within the limits of what I've said, my writing to be a political act. First I consider it a political act in terms of productive relations. Even though they are only a tiny, tiny little model in a tiny island in a vast, vast ocean.

I consider it a political act to reconstitute something of the original truthfulness of a language. I consider it a political act sometimes because of the themes about which I write. I try to write about the experience of migrant workers, for example, or try to reconstitute something of the experience of the uprising in Milan in 1989, which is in the novel *G*. I consider these as themes if they lead people to understanding what was at stake in those experiences.

Most important, I consider the following to be a political act:

If a writer is a vehicle for the experience of others, the contemporary experience of others, he is talking not just about his own feelings. He is talking in

Continued on next page.

"Leftists are often sentimental about politics and art. If you give absolute priority to the political transformation of society, then you shouldn't be in the arts."



Louise Sparham

Continued from previous page

however limited a way about the condition of the world as it is. Most of these experiences of which he is a vehicle are at best frustrated, and at worst tragic. That's the nature of the world at this moment.

It seems to me that there are inevitably tragic elements in human life. But I don't think it is inevitable that a third of the world should live off two-thirds of the world, most of whom live under conditions that prevent them from attaining a minimum of human dignity. That is a peculiarly modern tragedy and a modern evil.

The uneasy political conscience that I've talked about can lead people in all sincerity, trying to write about some of these experiences and to end with political slogans that point toward solutions.

I think usually, except in very special circumstances, those are counterproductive.

So what is the political duty of the writer?

It seems to me that it is to describe the world we live in as not being inevitable. Life with its enormous and crushing necessities often does not allow for something that is happening to be other than what it is.

Literature always allows that. If you write that something is black, you can make the reader aware of the possibility that it might have been yellow or white. If you recount a tragedy that is final, you can write it such that the outcome, another outcome, a less tragic outcome of those circumstances is possible.

We live in a world in which we are surrounded by a very tall and gigantic wall, almost invisible, which cuts us off from any really different future, and which isolates us from any very different past.

Even the news that appears to change every week and every month, publicity and most political speeches contribute to this wall. The speeches all say, "Support me, support these policies, because that way we'll be able to ride out the storm and everything will continue as before, but a little bit better."

If we live within that wall, the most profound political function of the writer is somehow to try to describe what is happening within, as if it were addressed to those who might be in the future outside, on the other side of that wall.

This is not a question, like the attitude of 19th century Romanticism, which infects the work with a mystical immortality. I am saying that all works should be addressed to that possible future, because mostly inarticulated, often with a

sense of great political impotence, little bits of that future actually exist within everybody who is trapped within the wall.

I think one of the reasons that so much 20th century literature is ironic is because writers so frequently feel something like what I'm describing, although they feel it perhaps less clearly. Irony actually douses the hope. What is left is a kind of coming to terms in an ironic way with disappointment.

One has to have a much longer view—

endurance actually. It is simply to keep hope alive. It is a question of putting hands around that flame.

But you can't do that directly by consoling talks or by sermons. You can only do it in the way that you describe, as ruthlessly and as honestly as you can, what it is, but to try to describe it always with that implicit supposition that it could be different. ■

Part II of the interview with John Berger follows next week.

THE PRINTED WORD

ABOUT LOOKING

By John Berger
Pantheon, \$4.95 paper

THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF PICASSO

By John Berger
Pantheon, \$4.95 paper

By Pat Aufderheide

Arts criticism, when it's good, gives us an understanding not only of an artist's work but of our own way of seeing. Arts criticism can challenge our assumptions, give us a perspective on the terms of our lives.

But it's so rarely any good. In a society in which we have zoned "the arts" off into an area that threatens to touch "real life" only occasionally, arts criticism has become the virtual preserve of pedants comfortable in that zone. And the few socially-concerned arts critics often, in their heated resistance to academicism, busy themselves with showing how artistic expression "reveals" a social reality that is already established.

John Berger offers us a rare gift—criticism that is socially involved and immensely informed, without sliding into a schematic, vulgar Marxism or arcane art historianism. *About Looking* and *The Success and Failure of Picasso* are excellent, complementary books to demonstrate his approach.

About Looking collects essays published over 15 years, some of them anthologized previously in the now out-of-print *The Moment of Cubism* and most appearing first in the English journal *New Society*. The articles are short and focused. Berger's love for the medium he describes is always apparent. Like *Ways of Seeing*, many of the essays probe

the relationship between viewers and the object viewed, whether it is a Rodin statue or a zoo animal.

Berger is capable of asking the simplest questions in a way that breaks through our easy assumptions. In his essay on primitive and professional painting, he analyzes how art historians have used the word primitive. He notes that primitives don't use professional art traditions theoretically available to them. How does a primitive come to reject, say, a visit to a nearby museum to see how other artists have handled the same problem? "His whole experience is one of being excluded from the exercise of power in his own society and he realizes from the compulsion he now feels, that art too has a kind of power. The will of primitives derives from faith in their own experience and a profound skepticism about society as they have found it. This is true even of such an amiable artist as Grandma Moses."

Berger not only situates art in society—which easily done, easily slips into reductionism—but in a historical process. In his series of essays on photographs in *About Looking*, one concerns photographs of agony produced in newspapers and magazines—for instance, atrocity photographs from Vietnam. He asks why these photos are so ineffective in mobilizing a political response, and he finds they are unspecific in their horror. He details the double shock—not only the shock of capturing the moment, but the contrast between that moment and all others. The double shock divorces a viewer from a sense of relationship with his own life, and it recounts a moment of pain as a comment on the human condition, not on a particular war. "It accuses everybody and nobody." And so such photos are "safe" to print.

The critic too is part of the historical process. In another essay Berger describes his critical reactions to a crucifixion painting ten years apart. "In a period of revolutionary expectation, I saw a work of art that had survived as evidence of the past's despair; in a period that has to be endured, I see the same work miraculously offering a narrow pass across despair."

He then finds in this experience a lesson against traditional art criticism, which in its historical analysis can create a dichotomy between the analyzable "them" and the superior, because surviving, "us."

Picasso.

In *The Success and Failure of Picasso* we are able to watch Berger perform a long analysis using the same insights. It is a classic, a book to be reread and quoted and thought about. Fifteen years after it was first published, it is still shocking and iconoclastic.

Berger argues that Picasso's great genius was frustrated by his own success. That process occurred as Picasso's anti-social and emotionally direct artistic vision was served by two false promises: that of success—fame, but no social goals—of a bourgeois world; and the false promise of aesthetic and social involvement with the communist movement Picasso joined after WWII.

To make this argument Berger refers, among other things, to the social history of Spain, to the meaning of Cubism as a revolutionary artistic vision, to the concept of the noble savage in 18th century philosophy, to the Spanish Civil War, and to the relation of the Russian government to its artists. In an unassuming, gently didactic style he rehearses the ele-

Richard Appignonesi, who conducted this interview, is the co-author of *Lenin for Beginners* (Pantheon), originally published by the Writers and Readers Co-operative. Some of the questions were designed by Leonard Quart, an English professor in New York. Pat Aufderheide excerpted and edited this version of the interview.

The interview in its entirety will be printed in *Cineaste*, whose editor Gary Cowdus graciously made the manuscript available to IN THESE TIMES.

ments in these historical moments and trends that he needs us to know in order to chart Picasso's artistic evolution. He thus makes an elegant argument referring to complex historical frameworks without losing a lay reader.

Berger calls Picasso a "vertical invader" in European society—a disrupter, not a revolutionary. He was a man from a non-capitalist society, Spain; an exile; a child prodigy who learned by his amazing early skill to deny the value of learning or understanding. He came to the European art scene fully-formed and a loner.

Berger charts two vital periods in Picasso's art when his solitary tendencies were undercut—while working with the Cubists before WWI, and during a passionate love affair. With the Cubists Picasso had—until WWI destroyed that world—an aesthetic community. But WWI broke the Cubist movement up along lines of political commitment, and Picasso, the loner, abstained from commitment. With women Picasso found a rare chance for social interaction that also had the direct emotion his painting expressed.

Picasso's lifelong problem, Berger asserts, was *what to paint*. What was an appropriate subject for a man without social roots, for a genius that obscured the need for a social fabric, in a period of art in which anything was permissible to paint—but nothing more appropriate than anything else?

Berger argues that Picasso joined the Communist party in order to find subjects to paint. But the communists, embarrassed by the fantasy, the sensuality, the celebration of the primitive in his art, isolated him safely in a non-discussable category called "humanist."

"Exemption is very like exile," writes Berger. "What the communist movement offered him back was only the exhausted subject of himself."

Why does Berger care that Picasso's later art is an art of isolation and despair? He sees Picasso's plight as exemplary of a wider alienation in our times, expressed in a heightened way by the artist. Also, he imagines what Picasso might have been—the foremost artist of an emerging post-capitalist world.

If Picasso had traveled, "outside Europe he would have found his work. His unusual speed of assimilation, the complex cross-breeding of his own cultural heritage, the intense physical basis of his art, the debt of his most personal style to non-European traditions of painting and sculpture, his newly acquired political convictions...all would have especially qualified him to become the artist of an emerging world, challenging the hegemony of Europe."

This book gets behind the pious artist-worship of Picasso. To a degree that the most deadly serious of conventional art historians do not do, it takes Picasso's art seriously.

The result? It gives the readers more than an understanding of a great artist. It gives us confidence that modern art can be generally understood, that it is a social and historical endeavor. Further, we see that art has an important role to play in our lives—and that mystification of Picasso has done a lot to make that fact hard to see.

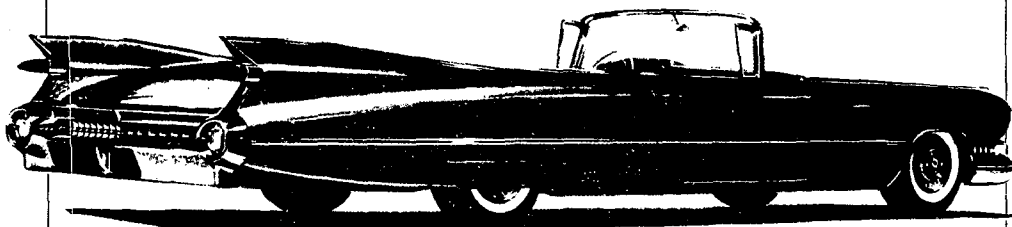
If there is a sorrow in reading *Picasso*, it is that it is still shocking in 1980, as it was in 1965. It is disappointing that Berger's example is so rarely used. Such well-informed, socially-grounded criticism in accessible language remains rare. ■

NEXT WEEK:

THE AUTO INDUSTRY

A Special Report by David Moberg

- What are the issues behind the current crisis?
- How do foreign imports affect the future of the U.S. auto industry?
- What can and should the U.S. government do?



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EDITORIAL

It's time for political realignment

Since the 1860s, when the Republican Party emerged as a major party, through the New Deal days of the 1930s, when Franklin D. Roosevelt put together a coalition of urban ethnics, trade unionists, blacks and the traditionally Democratic South, and until the late 1960s, the two existing major parties were relatively stable and distinct. But the 1970s marks the end of that stability. The Democrats have lost their firm hold on the South. The big city Democratic machines have been crumbling, and now appear to have suffered a final blow with the breaking up of Chicago's organization, especially in the black wards. Yet, despite these Democratic problems, the Republicans can claim only 22 percent of those registered to vote. More people now register as independents than they do in either party. And this year we have a major independent candidate for president and an attempt to form a new party on the left.

This, however, does not signal the break-up of the two-party system in the United States, as both John Anderson and the leaders of the Citizens Party readily concede—Anderson by insisting that he is not forming a party, but is only running an individual campaign, the Citizens Party by claiming it will replicate the process that led to the Republican Party's rapid emergence as the second party in the 1850s and '60s.

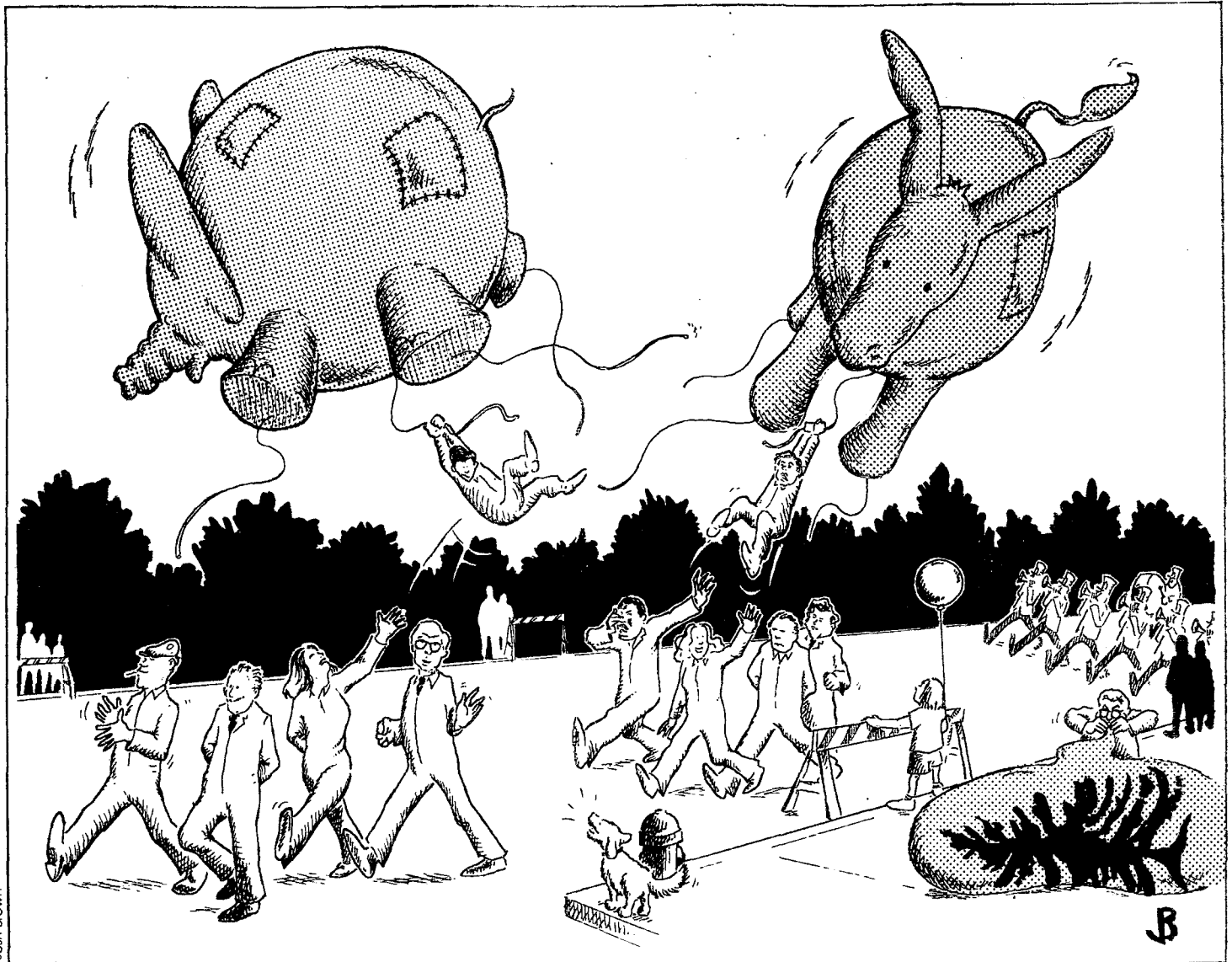
Anderson, as John Judis argues (see page 2), should be taken at his word. Whether the Citizens Party can achieve its goal, or even contribute substantially to a party realignment, remains to be seen. But one thing is clear: The Anderson candidacy and the Citizens Party formation do not indicate that the two-party system is about to become a three-party system—both the structure of our political institutions and historical experience rule that out—but they do reflect a process of realignment of the major parties.

Then and now.

In the 1850s and '60s, Republican success was based on the ability of Abraham Lincoln and others to incorporate the needs and demands of diverse groups in a single overriding issue: Opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories. The program of Free Soil spoke to the needs of farmers, merchants, abolitionists and wage earners so well that Lincoln was elected on the Republicans' second try for the presidency. His election on this basis then led to the secession of 11 southern states, to the Civil War and to the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Socialists, trade unionists, blacks, feminists, environmentalists, consumer protectionists and anti-nuclear activists have an analogous opportunity. Just as the Democrats and Whigs could not control the issue of slavery before the Civil War, the Republicans and Democrats cannot speak to the underlying cause of steadily increasing inflation in the face of steadily increasing unemployment—nor can they articulate a foreign policy that can accept the decline of American world power as something other than a national defeat.

The crisis of the existing parties is both ideological and practical. It is ideological because the inability of the New Deal and post-New Deal liberals to solve the major problems facing American society has reopened the doors to already-discredited *laissez faire* ideas and programs. This has led to the widespread acceptance of anti-big government rhetoric among politicians of all stripes and to the popular growth of anti-big government senti-



Neither Anderson's candidacy nor formation of the Citizens Party means a three-party system is in the wings; but they do signal realignment.

ment. And yet, at every turn—whether it is the collapse of the Chrysler Corporation or the recent big jump in unemployment—the only place to turn for aid is to the government.

The crisis is practical because a government controlled by giant corporations and subservient to them cannot address the cause of our problems, which is corporate unwillingness to invest their vast surplus in rebuilding cities or railroads, in developing cheap energy, or in solving our many other social problems. A Department of Energy that for all practical purposes is run by the oil companies can neither control oil prices or give leadership in developing inexpensive alternatives to oil. A Department of Transportation that is controlled by the auto and highway construction industries cannot lead us to efficient mass transit.

Anderson does not even pretend to speak to these questions. His appeal is partly based on a pleasant personality, socially liberal views and a moderate foreign policy, but it rests primarily on the rock of discontent with Carter and the prospect of Reagan.

The Citizens Party, on the other hand, now appears to be moving toward a single unifying idea. In its initial stages, and at the Citizens Party convention, a dissident faction represented the 1960s-style politics of coalition based on "correct" positions on a multitude of social, racial and sexual issues designed to entice a wide range of constituencies. This politics never won over the constituencies, but only small groups of self-styled leaders. Its advocates now seem to have de-

parted, and Barry Commoner's articulation of a politics centered on the question of social control of investment, especially in regard to energy, railroads and plant closings, seems to be at the center of the new party's efforts.

But if the Citizens Party is among the first groups to articulate a politics that centers on the investment system, and that may, therefore, have a unifying potential, that does not mean it is a second Republican Party.

For starters, the Republicans came together as a coalition of people experienced in politics and deeply involved in the major parties of the time, whereas the Citizens Party has precious few members rooted in major party politics, and an uncomfortably large number of people marginal to the political process.

Further, the Citizens Party leaders appear to have few connections with a wide range of groups that have directly or indirectly been engaged with the Democratic Party and that in various ways have begun to challenge corporate power and to raise questions of social control of investment. These include the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Progressive Alliance, the Machinists union, the United Auto Workers, the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California and public interest groups like Massachusetts Fair Share, not to mention various locally-based, anti-corporate or socialist groups that usually run in non-partisan elections.

The beginning of a programmatic basis for bringing these groups together is emerging, but there is as yet no practical

basis for cooperation except within the Democratic Party. This is especially true for the left unions and groups like DSOC and the Progressive Alliance that are closely allied with them, because the unions cannot afford to isolate themselves from access, no matter how limited, to some national influence through relations with those in office. For the unions, and also for others, realignment is a process that will go forward primarily within the Democratic Party.

That does not mean, however, that any group that chooses to advance this process from outside the Democratic Party should be seen by other leftists as competitors or as a diversion. To the degree that the Citizens Party can develop popular support for a politics that puts social rationality about profit rationality it will strengthen the hand of those within the Democratic Party with similar goals. And to the degree that the new party can bring people who cannot bring themselves to be active within the Democratic Party into political life, it will be strengthening the left and accelerate the process of realignment. The old argument that a third party effort will simply take votes from the lesser of the two evils—presumably from Carter in this instance—and help elect the greater evil does not hold this year for two reasons. First, Anderson will do that job. Second, and more important, millions of people, most of whom normally vote, will not vote for either Carter or Reagan this year. If Ronald Reagan is elected, the onus will fall on the Democratic Party for renominating Jimmy Carter.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

AS A HUMAN RESEARCH VICTIM, I read with particular interest Mike Jendrzeczyk and Pam Solo's article dealing with radiation victims (*ITT*, Apr. 23). Radiation victims constitute only one group of federal government research victims, albeit the most numerous. Non-radiation victims include 182 syphilitic blacks who died of direct or indirect effects arising from non-treatment in the Tuskegee Project and Wisconsinite Robert Olson who was given LSD unwittingly in the CIA's MK Ultra project and then committed suicide.

The federal government still has not accepted responsibility for harm done to its research victims. Thus, no program exists providing compensation for research victims and health care for research-related injuries. No federal governmental agency will investigate allegations of research abuse impartially.

Former HEW Secretary Weinberger's Task Force on the Compensation of Injured Research Subjects (Perry Committee) endorsed the principle of compensation for Public Health Service research victims in January 1977. No distinction was made between prospective and retrospective research injury.

The newly formed (July 1979) President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Human Research is now planning a compensation program with Carter administration approval to compensate only prospective injuries. The very worst abuses, and indeed most abuses—those occurring prior to the establishment of federal research regulations in 1974—will not be compensated. Many of the pre-1974 victims have not found justice in the courts. Many are illiterate, not litigious and ill. Indeed the same traits that made them vulnerable as research subjects have rendered them unlikely to litigate their cases. In other instances technicalities bar litigation.

Federal human research constitutes a remarkable and indeed unique chapter in American history. One might have thought that once human research injury and death received public attention, the federal government would have done all it could to assist its victims. That has not been the case. The government has sought, in instances, to undermine the credibility of research victims. In other instances, public disclosure of studies demonstrating a meaningful statistical relationship between incidence of specific diseases and research exposure or participation has been blocked.

Implementation of the Perry Committee's proposal—providing compensation and health care for research-related injuries for all federal research victims must be on the political agenda of the 1980s.

—Bennett Stark

Coordinator, National Committee
for Victims of Human Research
Madison, Wisc.

THE RIGHT THING FOR THE WRONG REASONS

IN HIS REVIEW OF *THE TRIALS OF ALGER HISS* (*ITT*, Apr. 30), Adam Nussenbaum cites the FBI's suppression of evidence of Whittaker Chamber's homosexual activity as an example of that agency's misconduct in the Hiss affair. Nussenbaum implies that the withhold-

ing of this evidence was a miscarriage of justice; is it not a greater miscarriage of justice when such evidence is *not* suppressed (provided that a judge, and not a G-man, rules it inadmissible)?

Had Hiss been gay, the FBI would, of course, have tipped off the prosecution at once, but this does not mean that Chambers' homosexuality should have been used to discredit him. The FBI did the right thing for the wrong reason. As a civil libertarian and as a gay man, I resent Nussenbaum's implication that it is all right to turn a man's sexuality against him in court as long as he is a fat reactionary and not a dapper New Dealer.

—Matthew E. Moore
Berkeley, Calif.

CARRY ON!

JUST FINISHED READING YOUR BIG Business Day issue (*ITT*, Apr. 16) cover to cover (it takes a while for *ITT* to make it out here to the Coast). While the rest of the media played down the April 17 events, you produced a fantastic explanation of why the protest was necessary.

David Moberg's documentation of the steel industry's greed, manipulation, and just plain theft of people's communities and livelihoods was, like everything he does, thorough and chillingly to the point. Keep it up and carry it on. We all need you—longer, larger, and more frequent.

—Michael Kazin
San Francisco

A REAL LABOR PARTY?

IT HAS BEEN ALMOST A YEAR SINCE John Henning, executive secretary of the California State Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) raised the question of an independent labor party in a Labor Day message. That statement opened up a discussion within organized labor in California and received some coverage from the mass media.

Since that time, both the Bay Area District Council of Carpenters and the Alameda County Building Trades Council have gone on record in favor of the idea. In addition, my local passed a resolution for a labor party, which was adopted (in the main) by a recent convention of the California State Council of Carpenters.

All of this has been reported in the paper of the state federation. In addition, there was further discussion of the

idea at the recent state COPE convention.

This is most interesting in view of the debate on the role of the Citizens Party and its possible "irrelevance." It seems obvious that the only way that it can really get off the ground is to attract a significant sector of organized labor. For John Judis (*ITT*, Apr. 23) to claim that it must get involved with the Democrats is absurd—especially considering how thoroughly disgusted the vast majority of voters are with the present parties and their candidates.

The fact is that we are (in Henning's words) "prisoners of the system"—although the reason is mainly due to the failures of the Frasers, Winpisingers and even Hennings to get off their butts and do something.

There is starting to be real interest at the local and district level in the idea of an independent labor party as an alternative to what we now have—a one party system of "Republicrats."

—John Reimann
Recording Secretary
Carpenters Local 36 (Oakland, Calif.)

Editor's note: John Judis did not suggest that the Citizens Party must get "involved with the Democrats." He suggested that in order for the Citizens Party to succeed it will have to win over many who have been active Democrats, especially unionists, and that these people should be sought out and welcomed by the Citizens Party leadership.

TAXING OIL

DAN MARSHALL AND TOM CORRIGAN, writing on various state efforts to tax oil company profits, state that on June 3, "California residents will vote on a 2.5 percent surcharge on the corporate income tax for oil companies" (*ITT*, Apr. 30).

It is only a small numerical error, but it is significant in terms of the end result. In fact, Proposition 11, the "Tax Big Oil" initiative, will add a 10 percent surcharge to the state income tax on major oil companies. The current level of taxation on oil profits in California is 9 percent, so this more than doubles oil company taxes in this state.

Proposition 11 will affect only corporations earning more than \$5 million yearly, more than half of which are derived from oil, natural gas, coal or uranium. We estimate there are 40 to 50 such corporations operating in California. About \$200 million per year would be added to state revenues, all of which would be used for mass transit projects.

A recent poll has us ahead 58 percent to 34 percent with 8 percent undecided. That is a healthy lead, but we have no way of knowing how firm our support is, and that will be of crucial importance. Big Oil is expected to spend \$10 million to defeat Proposition 11, the largest expenditure on a state campaign in American history.

We have prepared a grassroots campaign, as well as electronic media. Our TV commercial depicts the oil companies in the form of live pigs gorging themselves at a trough labelled "Big Oil Profits." It was just selected as one of

five nominees for a 1980 CLIO Award, the advertising industry's equivalent of an Oscar. We look forward to June 3 with cautious optimism.

—Bill Zimmerman
Los Angeles

H BLOCK PRISONERS

ROBERT ST. CYR (*ITT*, MAY 7) CLAIMS that the conflict in Northern Ireland cannot be considered as reflecting "a legitimate national liberation movement in the traditions of the democratic international left. It is a cause whose just demands were won 60 years ago; what remains is ahistorical, chauvinistic nationalism."

I am not a supporter of the violence of either wing of the Irish Republican Army, but I am deeply concerned about the causes of that violence, which I have studied at first hand during many trips to Northern Ireland.

St. Cyr's statement is shockingly inaccurate. The 1920 act of the British government that established Northern Ireland contains, in its fifth part, an inconsistency of grave significance. That act specifies that the government shall not "either directly or indirectly...establish or endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof." But it also indicates that schools (national and private) receiving public money can offer religious instruction. This subsidized the maintenance of two ethno-religious groups. In other ways, too, the act succeeded in turning the control of Northern Ireland over to a Protestant "Orange" dictatorship.

Significantly enough, the court system of the United Kingdom and especially of Northern Ireland is such that the section of the 1920 act on religious freedom has never been used as the basis for litigation to counteract religious discrimination in employment, housing, and police activities.

With regard to the H Block brutalities, Archbishop O'Fiaich made this statement in 1978: "Having spent the whole of Sunday in the prison I was shocked by the inhuman conditions prevailing in H Blocks 3, 4 and 5, where over 300 prisoners were incarcerated. One would hardly allow an animal to remain under such conditions, let alone a human being. The nearest to it I have seen was the spectacle of hundreds of homeless people living in sewerpipes in the slums of Calcutta...."

"The authorities refuse to admit that these prisoners are in a different category from the ordinary, yet everything about their trials and family background indicates that they are different. They were sentenced by special courts without juries. The vast majority were convicted on allegedly voluntary confessions obtained in circumstances which are now placed under grave suspicion by the recent report of Amnesty International."

All this is a product of the colonialist exploitation of Northern Ireland through the artificially maintained ethno-religious division of the working class against itself. The British and multinational establishments have thus assured themselves of having in Northern Ireland the lowest wage rates, the lowest absentee rates, and the highest unemployment rates in the British Isles.

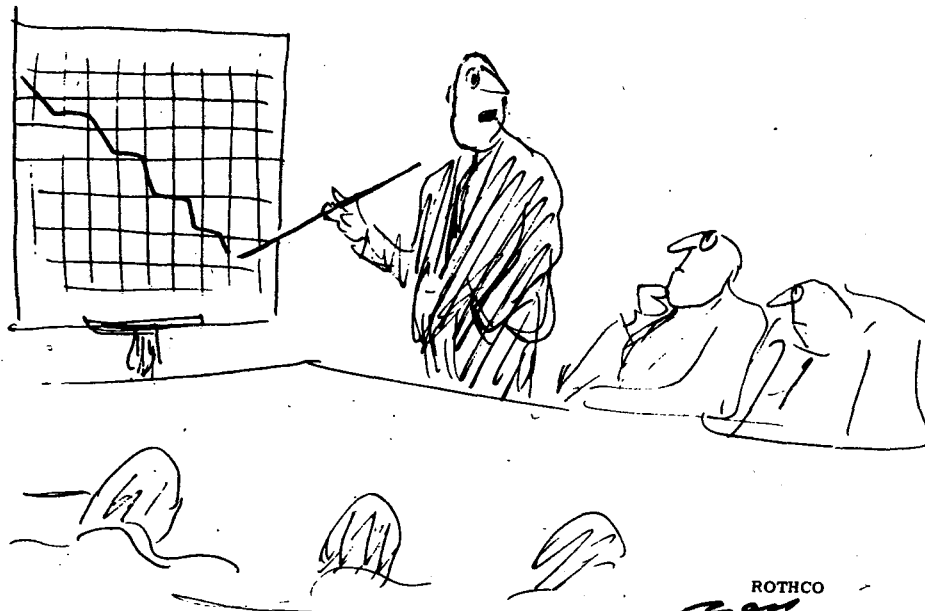
—Alfred McClung Lee
Professor Emeritus
City University of New York

CORRECTION:

In William Burr's review of *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Threat* (*ITT*, Apr. 30), the following typographical errors appeared:

In col. 1, para. 1, line 16: "traditional methods of political evidence" should read "traditional methods of political science."

In col. 3, para. 2, lines 17-18: "From their standpoint, Russian policy, defensive orientation" should read "From their standpoint, Russian policy, regardless of its actual defensive orientation..."



"Notice the downward trend..."

"Schooling" by Norm Fruchter

Can the desertion of public schools be stopped?

Whenever I pick up my friends' daughter from her parochial school kindergarten in Jersey City, I stare at the church vans and mini-busses doubleparked outside. Protestant church vans. Black protestant church vans. The last time I picked her up I saw two tiny girls in Muslim dress, hurrying out through the rain to their similarly robed mothers.

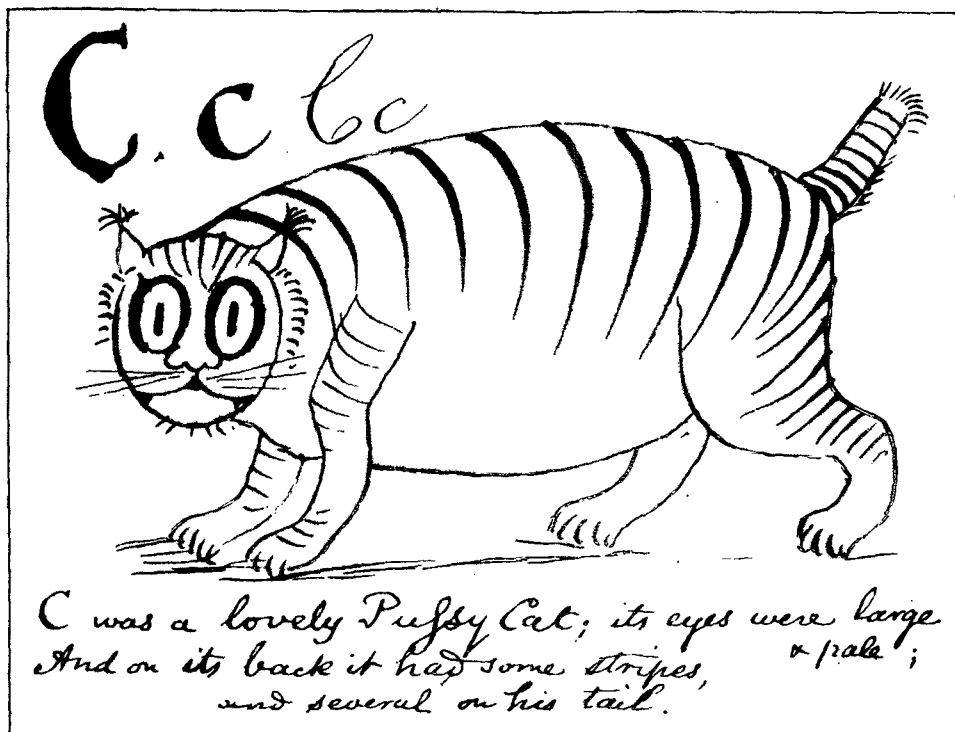
Parochial school populations in Jersey City, Newark and other north Jersey cities are becoming more integrated and more ecumenical as increasing numbers of black and Hispanic parents withdraw their children from public schools. This trend is probably nation-wide. The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights has just completed a survey of parochial schools in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit and other major cities. The survey reported a sample national student body 5 percent black and 32 percent Hispanic. At least a third of the students sampled were non-Catholics. At least 20 percent had one sibling in public schools.

If, as I suspect, the sibling still in public school is an older child, the trend is ominous for the future of urban public education. The white and minority working class and the poor are trapped in deteriorating cities; they cannot follow the middle-income families into the suburbs. But disaffection and disgust with the failure of public education is so widespread in urban areas that increasing numbers of white and minority working-class parents are mobilizing increasingly scarce financial resources to pay parochial school tuition. Our own studies of Jersey City indicate that at least 13,500 students—almost a third of all school-age children—are enrolled in parochial schools. Part of this enrollment stems from traditional religious preferences. Part of it represents a choice against public education made by those middle-income white, black and Hispanic families who never joined the exodus to the suburbs. But the most recent and increasing segment of parochial school enrollment comes from white and minority working-class families who have given up in despair on the public system. These families are meeting sharply rising parochial tuition fees in an attempt to protect their children's futures.

If the rate of desertion of public schooling by these parents continues, urban school systems will become repositories for the children of working-class and poor families who cannot afford any tuition fees, or who have given up hope that education can improve their children's life chances.

This grim prospect of urban working-class and poor constituencies polarized into a fee-paying, parochial sector and an increasingly abandoned and decaying public sector is prefigured by the current agitation for a voucher system in New Jersey. Voucher proponents used to meet a solid phalanx of urban opposition, both white and minority. But as increasing numbers of white and minority working-class parents join middle-income parents in paying twice for their children's education, once through local property tax (which still contributes a large share of school expenditure in New Jersey), and again through parochial school fees, the attraction of some form of voucher system grows. If the proposed California voucher initiative reaches the ballot in June and attracts a sizable number of that state's voters, New Jersey will be vulnerable to a statewide campaign to institute a similar system.

Such a campaign will not only unite suburban and middle-income constituencies convinced that urban school systems are sinkholes for state and federal tax dollars. Urban constituencies will also be polarized, between those parents who believe that public education must be improved, so that it adequately meets



the needs of minority and working-class children, and those parents who believe, with equal fervor, that public education has become so damaging, and so resistant to reform, that they have a right to use state funds for private and parochial education.

Trying to improve public schools.

I have been working with parent groups in several New Jersey cities, who are trying to organize and pressure for improvements in the public schools. Part of our effort involves informing parents about their school's effectiveness in teaching English and math skills. Since New Jersey has instituted state-wide minimum basic skill's testing, each school's performance can be monitored, analyzed, compared to city-wide and state-wide results and then presented to parent groups for evaluation and possible action. But as Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and other cities register dismal skills performance, with more than half the system's children unable to meet minimum grade-level standards, I grow increasingly uneasy about releasing our information. We want parents to respond with anger and a determination to fight to improve the system, but our results often add to the frustration and despair that causes parents to give up and decide to withdraw their children. Our attempts to study and indicate the extent of dropping-out in urban systems also provokes similar responses. The more the failures of these systems are documented, the more the desertion rate intensifies.

There is a national movement of educators, activist parents and researchers committed to the belief that effective parent participation, at the local school level, is the key to school improvement. This movement, represented nationally by the National Committee for Citizens in Education and the Institute for Responsive Education, has developed an extensive variety of training techniques, strategies and research designed to help parent groups achieve effective participation in school management. Acceptance of the notion of formalized parent participation, through school councils or management teams composed of administrators, teachers and parents, with legally recognized power over curriculum, personnel and discretionary funds, is growing in school circles. Florida and California have begun experimenting with forms of school-based management councils.

If effective parent participation is indeed one of the crucial conditions for school improvement, the school systems of Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and other cities face a crippling paradox. The activity of large numbers of parents is required to redirect and reform these systems. Yet potentially active parents

are deserting these systems as performance continues to deteriorate. Worse, those white and minority working-class parents who are increasingly withdrawing their children may constitute the critical base from which activist parents are traditionally drawn.

Effective parent participation is difficult under the best circumstances, which rarely obtain in urban systems. Because an enormous time commitment is necessary—day as well as evening hours—non-working women constitute the bulk of the parent activist corps. In order to sustain this time commitment, these women must have adequate income and child-care available to them.

Effective parent participation also requires an intense emotional commitment in order to learn how to combat the rhetoric, obfuscations and lies of a hopelessly bureaucratized, defensive, often guilt-stricken officialdom; the wariness, mistrust and hostility of harried teachers; the docility and protectiveness of traditional parent organizations committed to fund-raising and school service. A comprehensive learning investment is also required, because effective parent activists must penetrate specialist jargon, master the variety of federal and state programs, understand the varying standards for measuring pupil and school performance and manage the conflicting definitions of equity which polarize school constituencies.

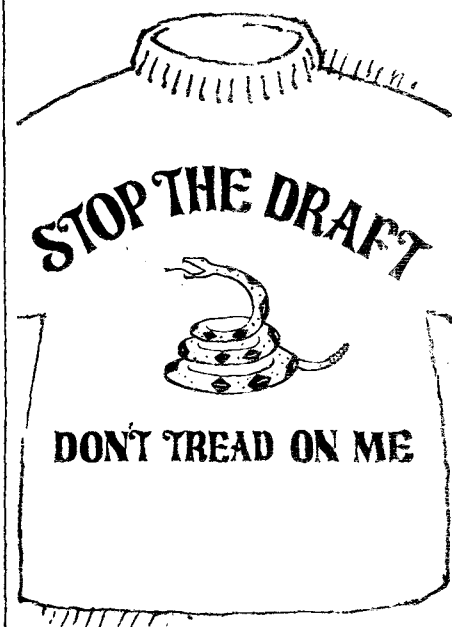
Relatively few parents in any school system can manage the time, energy, economic and emotional resources necessary for such commitment. Indeed, parental involvement that demands such commitment is sometimes counter-productive, turning activists into experts and progressively separating them from their parent base. Yet public education is so interlocked and politicized that simple intervention consistently proves impossible. I have helped train and run organizing projects committed to mobilizing parents against the prevailing wisdom of educational experts. Yet our parent activists, through consistent intervention, grew so familiar with the complexities of daily educational problems that they became, unavoidably, grassroots experts.

Effective parent participation demands knowledgeable intervention at endless school board meetings, consultation with countless parent groups, school visits, inspections, protest meetings, marches, sit-ins, press conferences, negotiations, delegations to the city and county superintendent and the state department of education. The work is draining and the rewards rare. Victories, when they come, are tenuous and can be rolled back by a new administrator or next year's budget.

Perseverance, in this situation, requires not only courage, dedication, emotional and economic security, but also the conviction that one's efforts are improving, rather than sacrificing, one's own children's educational prospects. As more and more white and minority working-class parents become convinced that continuing their children in urban schools means sacrificing their children's future, the potential base for effective parent activism shrinks. In cities like Jersey City and Newark that base is now so diminished that the public schools and the children they serve face a bleak future.

The situation is desperate but not hopeless. Parents will return to urban school systems as soon as there is evidence that deterioration is being reversed. There are indications from cities throughout the country that both the schools' fiscal crisis and the dismal basic skills performance can be successfully attacked. I will explore some of these possibilities in future columns.

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BEHIND THE LINES

In These Times organizes a support group

Zolton Ferency, who received 26 percent of the vote in the 1978 Michigan Democratic gubernatorial primary, has been elected president of the Board of Directors of *IN THESE TIMES*' Publishers Associates. Ferency, a professor of criminal justice at Michigan State University and a founder of the Democratic Socialist Caucus, will serve with *IN THESE TIMES* columnist Roberta Lynch (vice-president), labor attorney Lewis Steel (financial chair) and A.C.T.W.U. organizer David Rathke (secretary).

Publishers' Associates was formed earlier this year as a support group for *IN THESE TIMES*. Composed of 96 individuals and organizational representatives, the group will review the paper's annual business plan and operating budget, provide assistance in fundraising efforts, promote the newspaper and review editorial content. Acting in an advisory capacity, Publishers' Associates will meet annually. Its Board of Directors and standing committees will aid in developing and implementing programs to further the paper's growth.

The membership of Publishers' Associates reflects a diversity of opinion and organizing strategies on the American left. It includes members from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the New American Movement, Christians for Socialism, New York-NOW, the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy, various anti-nuclear groups, Massachusetts Fair Share, the Connecticut Citizens Action Group, the Black Hills Alliance, the Citizens Party and Southerners for Economic Justice. Individual members include Representatives John Conyers and Ron Dellums, Heather Booth of the Citizens/Labor Energy Co-



In These Times Publishers Associates president, Zolton Ferency.

alition, Robert Allen of *Black Scholar Magazine*, Studs Terkel, Pete Seeger, *IN THESE TIMES* columnist Kate Ellis, *Working Papers* co-publisher Charles Knight and former *Nation* publisher James Storrow. Additional members from the trade union, women's, black, Hispanic and other third world movements are being sought.

Publishers' Associates held their first annual meeting in three sections in New York, Chicago and San Francisco last February. They reviewed the newspaper's editorial content and direction, business and promotional plans for 1980 and fundraising needs. The membership encouraged the staff to proceed with plans to provide more consistent coverage and in-depth analysis of major issues, to provide more leadership in the development of socialist alternatives to existing programs and policies, and to expand our coverage of sexual politics, blacks and other minority groups. At the same time

they acknowledged that limited staff and financial resources place constraints on the newspaper's ability to do this.

The membership also agreed to participate in circulation building through their organizations and by sending gift subs, asking bookstores and libraries to carry the newspaper, and volunteering to promote and sell the paper at meetings and conferences.

Circulation growth was seen as the key to increasing revenues, reducing our annual deficit and the burden of fundraising, and to increasing the newspaper's impact on the development of democratic socialist politics. In addition to the promotional work of Publishers' Associates and other supporters, the members encouraged the newspaper staff to continue its use of promotional mailings (which generated almost 6,000 subscriptions in 1979) and our own efforts to increase the visibility and distribution of *IN THESE TIMES*. There was also agreement that since all of these activities cost money, the members should pursue every possible avenue for raising the \$100,000 needed to meet our remaining 1980 operating deficit.

During March the members of Publishers' Associates elected a Board of Directors and volunteered to serve on the organization's standing committees (editorial, personnel, financial and nominating). At their April meeting in Chicago, the Board discussed methods for implementing the suggestions made at the regional meetings and elected this year's officers. The editorial committee, chaired by Kate Ellis and consisting of 18 other members, will assist the staff in supplementing the resources available for special editorial projects. Fundrais-

ing will become a joint project of the financial committee and our staff, and promotion will be a project shared by all Board members.

Although Publishers' Associates is only a few months old, we are excited about the future of the organization. Our discussions indicate that Associates have already assumed responsibility for helping to foster our growth and the common interest of our staff and readers alike.

The Board of Directors of Publisher's Associates:

Jim Chapin (Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee)*, Lynn Chapman, Ken Cockrel (Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy), Bob Creamer, Kate Ellis, Zolton Ferency, Miriam Flacks, Jack Gray, Chester Hartman, Charles Knight, Roberta Lynch (New American Movement), Lee Marsh, David Rathke (Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union), William Sennett, Al Staats (Institute for Policy Studies), Lewis Steel, James Storrow, Jim Weinstein

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

In the three and a half years we have been publishing *IN THESE TIMES*, we have encouraged our readers to participate actively in the newspaper's growth and development. We've asked for your help in promotion, selling subscriptions and, because we are a non-profit publication, in raising the funds for our survival. For our part, we plan to develop special editorial projects, promotional mailings and improvements in the overall operation of our business department. With this column we begin the process of keeping you informed of our progress and plans for the future.

BOOKS

Are U.S. policy makers cutting Europe loose?

NATO's UNREMARKED DEMISE
By Earl C. Ravenal

Institute of International Studies/
University of California-Berkeley
Available for \$2.00 from the Institute
of Policy Studies, (1901 Que St., NW,
Washington, DC 20009)

By William Burr

In the context of recent international crises, which have exposed the weak political and economic bonds that hold the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's members together, Earl Ravenal's pamphlet is important and helpful. The author's assumption is that a critique of American foreign policy and a consideration of alternatives must start with a critique of the American commitment to Western Europe. Underlying Ravenal's premise are the serious budgetary implications—involving nearly a trillion Amer-

ican dollars for support of the Alliance, and the dangers associated with American strategy towards Europe.

Ravenal, a former Defense Department official, argues that the Soviet Union's attainment of strategic parity challenges traditional American military strategy. From the '40s, when the U.S. had unquestioned nuclear supremacy, to today, American administrations have coupled the local defense of Western Europe with a threatened first use of nuclear weapons against the USSR. The change in the strategic balance raises a question among Europeans and Americans: "Where and at whose expense would a war be fought?" That a conventional war in Europe could quickly escalate into a nuclear war undermines the old strategy. Consequently, Ravenal suggests, American leaders have adopted a "secret strategy" involving "decoupling" from Europe.

As he explains, the U.S. "hoping to escape the destruction of nuclear war, will always seek to put time between the outbreak of war in Europe and the decision to escalate into nuclear weapons and will take whatever advantage it can of its distance." Ravenal observes that the Europeans—who fear the consequences of conventional warfare—suspect America's "secret." No doubt Henry Kissinger's speech in Brussels last September confirmed European suspicions when he said that he himself had not believed the guarantees of nuclear support he had made when he was in office. These considerations perhaps explain Western Europe's drift towards neutralism in efforts to distance itself from Carter's energetic policies against the USSR.

After surveying various options available to the U.S., Ravenal concludes that the U.S. should "treat Europe explicitly as we are now doing implicitly...as a large buffer and a test of the long-term intentions of potential adversaries." Rejecting such approaches as U.S. imperial direction of the Alliance or "quick fixes" (short-term measures to enhance tactical credibility), Ravenal recommends the "progressive reduction of Europe's strategic dependence" on the U.S.

The basic alternative: upholding NATO because of political, economic and cultural values shared with Western Europe carries with it an "implicit preference for nuclear annihilation." Ravenal notes that there is no guarantee that the deterrent will deter and the danger of nuclear war, though slight, is not "fictitious" either.

The author's recommendation is well taken, and could be integral to a socialist foreign policy program for this country. Though NATO may have been function-

al to integrating West Germany as a "good neighbor" into a Western European community, that purpose has been served. An orderly U.S. disengagement from Europe would end a serious waste of resources and remove any danger that remains in the "first strike" promise. As Ravenal suggests, such action could induce the USSR to take reciprocal steps, perhaps leading to comprehensive agreements for European disarmament. Furthermore, disengagement would reduce the possibility for outside interference in European politics which has been a central, if obscure, feature of the North Atlantic Pact.

Disengagement would not be the first choice of American rulers whose concern remains supporting the security requirements of a transnational capitalist system. Though such Cold War architects as Clark Clifford have taken Western European leaders to task for lagging behind the U.S., "Atlanticism" remains a strong component of the U.S. corporate leadership's international policy. Ravenal suggests, however, that in the late 20th century "new strategic era," characterized by the diffusion of power among an "array of regional competitors" disengagement may present itself as an "eventual and necessary choice among unsatisfactory alternatives in deteriorating circumstances." Given Western Europe's narrow resource base and its relative vulnerability to political and economic pressures from both raw materials producers and the USSR, American leaders may someday question their time-honored axiom that Europe is a vital "security asset."

William Burr is writing his dissertation on U.S. policy toward European reconstruction after World War II.

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By Eric Leif Davin

An evening at the ballet. Bejeweled matrons in furs and well-tailored businessmen gather in sedate elegance for a performance of *Giselle* or Stravinsky's *Fire Bird Suite*.

It is an image of sophistication and well-bred culture.

Yet the dancers on stage—the objects of this cultured attention, the envy of the respectful audiences—are artists living near the poverty line, performers who earn less than the pit musicians, less than the stage hands, even less than some dishwashers. They are the non-unionized dancers of the classical dance world who, in the past few years, are beginning to realize that they are workers who need a living wage.

The Pittsburgh Ballet Theater (PBT) is typical of cities—like Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Atlanta—where the unorganized dancers are beginning to question the conditions they have long accepted as normal. There are 34 dancers in the PBT. Of these, four are female soloists and four are principal dancers. They are well-paid and well-treated by the PBT's management. The remaining 26 dancers are members of the "corps" and earn less than a quarter of the principals' salaries and, they say, are treated like "pretty children" rather than responsible adults or mature artists.

But the "pretty children" are now angry.

Hard training.

A potential ballerina begins her career young—at the age of seven or eight. She gives up everything else in order to train, to dance, six days, seven days a week. Classes cost \$5 or \$6 each and a young ballerina might take from 12 to 15 classes per week. In the summers, the young dancer is sent to a reputable boarding school in a large city and the training—and expenses—continue. Tights begin at \$6. Leotards cost from \$12 to \$26. Point shoes cost \$23 and last perhaps a week.

Dancers don't have time for college. Their instruments are their bodies and they can only dance until, perhaps, age 35. A dancer hardly has time for high school. By their late teens or early 20s, at the latest, they must be in a professional company.

For those years of training and sacrifice, a corps dancer in the PBT grosses \$168 per week. As one dancer said, "I made more money four years ago as a waitress than I make now as a professional dancer." Other dancers say they have to take out loans merely to meet normal day-to-day expenses.

"It would be nice to buy a house someday," said one dancer. "But, looking down the road, I can't see that the next ten years of my life will be any better off financially than the present. It's an impossibility."

Another dancer wants to have a baby before she turns 30, but doesn't see how it is possible. The Pittsburgh Ballet offers neither maternity leave nor benefits of any kind. "I wouldn't even be able to collect unemployment," she said. "The management wouldn't acknowledge I was pregnant. They'd probably just send me a memo instructing me to lose weight."

It is not only money that bothers the dancers. Like dancers in other unorganized cities, PBT dancers are expected to put in long hours six days a week. The normal chores of living—house-

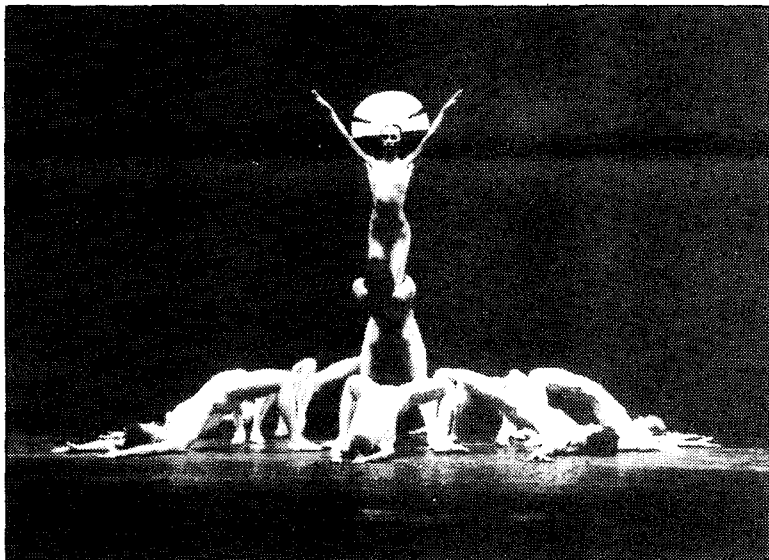
ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

DANCE



Pittsburgh Ballet dancers gather in front of their theater just before casting ballots for the union.

Union organizing for ballet's rank and file



Stravinsky's *FIREBIRD*, as performed by the Pittsburgh Ballet.

The corps are fighting the image of "ungrateful children" in the ballet "family."

work, laundry, going to the bank, to the dentist, obtaining a driver's license—must be squeezed into that one day. If the corps is on tour, management is allowed to work the dancers ten days in a row without a day off. Even this, however, is a policy often violated by management. On a recent tour, some PBT dancers were worked 16 days without a break.

Finally there is the attitude of the PBT management toward the dancers. Dancers particularly complain of the maternalistic treatment they receive from Loti Falk, president of the PBT's Board of Trustees and wife of Pittsburgh industrialist and philanthropist Leon Falk. Loti Falk, claim the dancers, looks upon dissatisfied corps members as "ungrateful children."

Some dancers claim that even this is too kind a description of how they are treated. "There is no respect for the dancers," they say. "We're treated like cattle—

'Get 'em out there, get the reviews, and get 'em back on the bus!' And if we don't like it, we're told to leave."

Leave is exactly what many dancers have done. In the last three years, 56 people have left the PBT including all the principal dancers. "This is an exceptionally high rate of turnover for a professional ballet company," say the dancers. "It indicates that employees are dissatisfied with the general working conditions and have been for some time."

Union.

Another indication of prolonged dancer dissatisfaction is the fact that every year for the past six years, PBT dancers have contacted the American Guild of Musical Artists (AGMA) for representation. (AGMA is the only union representing dancers as dancers and already represents some impressive companies, including the Alvin Ailey

American Dance Theater, the Martha Graham Dance Company, the New York City Ballet, the Boston Ballet, the San Francisco Ballet, the Houston Ballet and the Pennsylvania Ballet.)

This year has been no exception. In February, 29 of the PBT's 34 dancers petitioned the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election to determine if AGMA should represent them. On April 30, the PBT's dancers voted 19 to 12 for the union.

Joan Greenspan, national executive secretary of AGMA, in charge of liaison work with organizing dancers, stated that the battle waged by the PBT's management was the most vicious she had experienced. "It was a classic '30s-style anti-union campaign," she said. "They bombarded the dancers with letters and implicit threats. This overkill, I'm sure, tipped the balance in favor of the dancers."

She thought the Pittsburgh victory would be significant for classical dancers in other cities who are trying to organize because the entire process—from first contact to victory—took about two and a half months. "It was an amazingly fast organizing drive," she said. "It can't help but encourage those in Atlanta, Cleveland, and Milwaukee who are trying to do the same thing."

The victory is indicative of a change of attitude on the part of the dancers around the country. It is a revolt of the corps, the rank and file dancers.

American Ballet Theater.

This "raised consciousness" on the part of classical dancers broke into the spotlight last Oct. 28 when New York's prestigious American Ballet Theater became the first ballet management to lock out its own dancers. The lock-out occurred because the ABT feared its 72 dancers would unanimously strike on the opening night of the crucial Kennedy

IN THESE TIMES MAY 21-27, 1980 19
Center season.

That lock-out and subsequent struggle between the ABT management and the dancers (now represented by AGMA) symbolized an end to an era of patient suffering on the part of classical dancers. The dancers rejected the concept of the ballet theater as a "family." "It is hard to look upon it as a family," said one dancer, "when Donald Kendall, the head of PepsiCo, is the 'father' at the head of the Ballet Theater Foundation. They're businessmen."

The ABT dancers won. A series of organizing drives were launched with Houston and Pittsburgh becoming the most recent victories.

As former ABT principal dancer Gelsey Kirkland said, "In the past dancers haven't taken total responsibility for saying what they need. This is the beginning of a thinking process among dancers, about their needs for more money. They've taken a tremendous leap in educating themselves in that area." After the ABT settlement, for the first time a national consensus may emerge among classical dancers as to what minimum working conditions, salaries, and benefits should be paid dancers at various levels.

As Clive Barnes pointed out in *Ballet News*, "Managements, audiences, musicians and stage hands have been having a free ride on the backs of the dancers. This had to stop one day, and it has started to stop now."

It was a change long in coming. But, as the dancers in New York, Houston, and Pittsburgh are proving, classical dancers in America will never again be just "pretty children."

Eric Davin is the IN THESE TIMES Pittsburgh correspondent.

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Lawrence 1912-1980

By Peter Perl

LAWRENCE, MASS.

ANGELO ROCCO, A former union organizer who is now 95 years old, stood beneath the American flag on the Lawrence Common. A light drizzle fell on his best blue suit and his gray eyes glistened with tears.

This industrial city of 67,000 paused for a moment on April 27 to honor people like Angelo Rocco, to recapture a forgotten piece of Lawrence's history, and also to pay special tribute to a 13-year-old girl who decades ago helped change the course of American industrial history.

April 27 in Lawrence was "Bread and Roses Day," an unusual and officially sanctioned city celebration of the Lawrence textile strike of 1912, a strike in which 25,000 immigrants from 30 nations demanded and won both bread and roses—both higher wages and a measure of human dignity.

The Lawrence strike marked the first time a diverse immigrant workforce, one that spoke 45 different languages, was able to unite in a common goal and win. After a bitter one-week battle, the workers won pay hikes of 10 to 20 percent and assurances of overtime pay and equal pay for equal work. The victory also set an example for hundreds of thousands of woolen and silk mill workers who would later rise in revolt in Paterson, N.J., in 1913; in Lowell, Mass., in 1928; and in the industry-wide textile walkouts of the '30s.

"We are honoring people who banded together for social change, who wanted a better life, who worked under intolerable conditions and who came together to change their lives," said the city's 35-year-old mayor Lawrence P. LeFebvre.

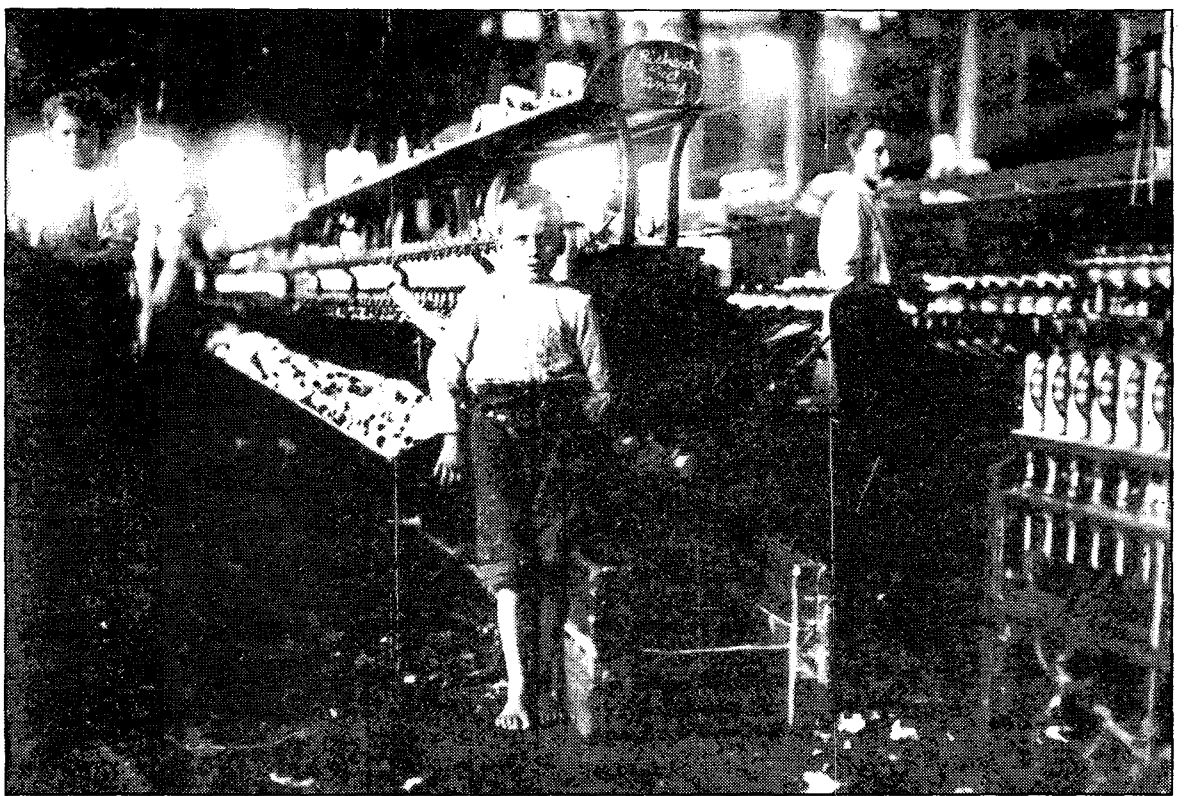
"People have been afraid to talk about this history," added the mayor, a Democrat who presides over a city where the awesome brick mills now stand vacant, a monument to runaway industry. "But the Bread and Roses strike is part of a proud heritage, and we are a pro-union city."

The celebration was sponsored by a unique combination of city government, religious groups and labor unions. A key group in its organizing was District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. 1199's Bread and Roses program, which sponsors cultural events for workers and about working people, is named after the strike.

"The celebration marks the first time that an American city is commemorating its labor history," said Bread and Roses project director Moe Foner. "Bread and Roses is pleased to help keep alive the best traditions of the American labor movement."

Camella Teoli.

As the rain fell on Angelo Rocco and a crowd of about 400, the main walkway running through the grass-covered Lawrence Common was dedicated as the "Camella Teoli Way." It honors the late Camella Teoli, who at 13 was scalped by a cotton twisting machine in a dark



sixth-floor sweatshop at the Washington Mills and spent seven months in a hospital without pay. Teoli had later testified in congressional hearings about her work conditions.

Camella Teoli's story is part of a worker's history that was long nearly buried. Five years ago author Paul Cowan visited Lawrence and sought out Mrs. Teoli's daughter. Though she had combed her mother's remaining hair into a bun every morning to cover the bald spot she had no knowledge of the accident. When she read her mother's congressional testimony she said, "Now I have a past. Now my son has a history."

"I never thought I would live to see something like this," said

Angelo Rocco, an Italian mill hand who had been one of the organizers of the 1912 strike. "People had forgotten this history. They had forgotten how miserable it all was, and what we had to overcome. To see this today, it is beautiful."

Before the ceremonies, the mayor's office took about 30 reporters and other visitors on a bus tour of the seven-square-mile city, a class-conscious tour that first showed the rundown former mill housing where many workers lived in squalor. Then the bus drove to Shawseen Village, a community of spacious wood and brick homes that William Madison Wood, owner of the American Woolen Company, built for his executives.

To understand the 1912 strike, "you have to always remember how bad things were for everyone," said Enrico Parente, 87, who helped organize the Lawrence mills for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). "The conditions inside were so miserable that not even in Africa was it so bad."

"Children nine and ten years old were dying in the mills," he said. "Every night after school, the children went into those mills. Every night, to make 75 or 80 cents." Even today, parents reminded the younger activists, "it is still the same at J.P. Stevens. Still the same kind of places, not just in 1912, but in 1980."

Continued on page 23.

Left, strikers faced militia during the Lawrence strike. Below left, child labor conditions in mill work were exposed by a commission resulting from the strike. Both pictures appear, with permission, from *Lawrence 1912: The Bread and Roses Strike*, by William Cahn. The book contains many photographs by famed photographer Lewis Hine and an introduction by Paul Cowan. Available from Pilgrim Press, 132 W. 31st Street, NYC 10001, \$6.95.



Above, Angelo Rocco, an IWW organizer during the 1912 strike, talks to young IWW members during "Bread and Roses Day." Left, Deborah Buouanno, who played the role of Camella Teoli in the celebration's skit, poses with her own grandmother, a mill worker. Below, a happy crowd—and a tired child—commemorated the 1912 strike and the recovery of a part of Lawrence's history.

Contemporary photos by Joan Powers and Earl Dotter/American Labor Education Center.



Khmers

Continued from page 11.

center of Phnom Penh. At the airport a Vietnamese official inspects all passports and have even been seen to overrule his Cambodian opposite number. The Vietnamese Politburo member with responsibility for Cambodia is Le Duc Tho—the man who negotiated the American withdrawal from Vietnam.

So far it must be said there is little obvious sign of tension between the Khmer and the Vietnamese. For the moment most Khmer are too pre-occupied with the struggle for survival to indulge in politicking. Off-duty Vietnamese soldiers go about unarmed; they are on the whole well-disciplined. There is no evidence to support claims that the Vietnamese have been diverting international aid away from civilians to their troops, although there have been reports of free-lance pilfering by troops manning road-blocks on the road from Thailand.

How long can the Vietnamese go on running Kampuchea? Quite apart from the fantastic strain placed upon their country's poor economy, there is a long history of enmity between the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples that will gnaw at the credibility of Heng Samrin's regime so long as it is seen to be so absolutely dependent on Vietnam. Vietnam's foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, says Vietnam will leave Kampuchea the day after "the Chinese threat"—in the shape of Pol Pot—ends.

The Pol Pot threat.

Despite all, Pol Pot still commands the only viable, wholly Kampuchean army, consisting of anywhere up to 10,000 troops—many of them young, but battle-hardened. They are well fed and well

supplied with arms. For the most part Pol Pot's forces are to be found straddling the long border between Thailand and Kampuchea although there are pockets of Khmer Rouge all the way across the north of the country. Although they are no match for the Vietnamese army, they do have a capacity for harassment. In February, for example, two UNICEF trucks were shot up at Skoun in central Cambodia, about 75 miles from Phnom Penh.

Pol Pot is being kept going by a curious alliance consisting of the Chinese, the Thais and possibly some indirect help from the Americans. To facilitate that arrangement the Chinese have cut one of their more cynical deals. They have pulled the plug on the Communist Party of Thailand (which depended on Chinese training and supplies) in exchange for Thai cooperation in keeping Pol Pot functioning.

The Thais have entered into their part of the bargain with enthusiasm. Not only are they permitting the delivery of Chinese supplies, they are also providing the Khmer Rouge with rest and recuperation facilities in Thailand, arranging visits to the Khmer Rouge by Western journalists and possibly providing some guns of their own (which might for example explain why some Khmer Rouge have been seen sporting American M79 rocket launchers).

The most that can be said about the American role is that they have given this arrangement their blessing. Since the Thais started to collaborate with the Khmer Rouge and the Chinese, American military aid has escalated from \$80 million in 1977 to \$437 million in 1979. American embassy officials in Bangkok flatly deny any links with Pol Pot but asked under what general circumstances they cooperate with the Chinese the answer is: "where our interests coincide."

The Americans know only too well that to be seen associating with the Khmer Rouge would be bad PR and pro-



bably no one—not even the Chinese—actually wants Pol Pot to return. Instead the strategy seems to be keeping the Khmer Rouge ticking just enough to provide Vietnam and the Soviet Union with a running sore and to undermine the prospects of recovery.

The flow of aid.

In this connection the flow of aid to Kampuchean refugees in Thailand is also relevant. Although the aid is prompted no doubt by mainly humanitarian motives, it cannot have escaped the attention of those who care about these things that the massive and to a large extent unmonitored distribution of food by international agencies is having a serious destabilizing effect on western Kampuchea.

The roads from Battambang through Sisophon are crammed with Kampuchean heading for the border with Thailand to obtain rice handouts and then return to their homes. While food is more readily available on the Thai border there will be little incentive for peasants to start

growing their own.

No one would question the motives of agencies like the Red Cross and UNICEF, but one would like to know more about organizations such as Wisconsin Indo-China Relief, Inc., run by a former colonel in the Green Berets who served in Vietnam at the special warfare school in Nha Trang (where his job included training Vietnamese of Khmer origin).

We also have to consider the possibility that there are Kampuchean who still support Pol Pot. In the light of all we now know this seems an incredible assertion, but remember that Western visitors to Kampuchea tend mainly to mix with city people—and educated ones at that. The war in Kampuchea was always basically a war of the countryside against the cities and it was inevitably the educated city people who suffered worst under Pol Pot. The peasants have a different perspective.

Already there are signs of a wide gap growing between living standards in Phnom Penh and those in the countryside. In the capital a ruling class is gradually emerging whose privilege is based upon control of foreign aid and access to foreigners. Although it has not yet deteriorated into the wholesale corruption that characterized previous regimes, this is bound to arouse resentment in areas where the aid is not getting through. One aid official in Phnom Penh was astonished to hear a non-Communist senior civil servant in the new regime estimate that 50 percent of Kampuchean aged between 15 and 25 still support Pol Pot. If the Vietnamese remain in Kampuchea indefinitely, and if there is another famine, that support could grow.

There is only one solution in sight and it is not a terribly happy one: the return of Prince Sihanouk to preside over a non-aligned government in Phnom Penh. Sihanouk is a vain, volatile and arrogant man, but he is nobody's puppet and for this reason perhaps the only Kampuchean who could endow the regime with sufficient respectability to attract recognition from all quarters.

From the Vietnamese point of view, international recognition for Kampuchea would remove the prospect of having large numbers of troops tied down indefinitely on foreign soil and break the deadlock with China. That would release resources desperately needed to develop their own country. The disadvantage would be that Vietnam would not have in Kampuchea an entirely pliant regime of the sort they have at the moment. But if, as they insist, the Vietnamese have no desire to remain in Kampuchea, such a compromise should present no real problem—providing they could be assured that their own frontier is secure.

For Kampuchea, a government acceptable to all power blocs represents the only hope of becoming once again the proud and independent country it once was. This is simply not possible while the West and China continue to flirt with Pol Pot and while Vietnam and the Soviet Union recognize Heng Samrin. As long as this state of affairs continues Kampuchea is destined to remain a helpless pawn in the hands of greater powers.

Chris Mullin, our British correspondent, has recently returned from Southeast Asia. This is his third and final report from Vietnam and Kampuchea.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

May 24/Orlando, FL

Festival for Human Concern, rally to protest national cuts in social spending. Series of speakers, music, etc. Will address national spending priorities. Saturday, May 24, 2-6 p.m. Lake Eola Park. Contact: 894-1345.

Chicago, IL

Women's Music Workshop by Torie Osborn for NAM's Second City Socialist School. At 2:00 p.m. at Parish of Reconciliation Church, 1655 W. School Street. Admission is \$2.00.

May 31/Chicago, IL

Erwin Knoll, editor of *The Progressive*, and **John H.F. Shattuck**, ACLU Director/ Washington DC, will speak on "The Civil Liberties Connection in the 80's: Nuclear Power, the Draft and the

CIA," at the **Annual Spring Supper of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights**, at De Paul University, 2324 N. Seminary. Admission is \$10.00. For more information call (312) 939-0675.

June 1/Santa Monica, CA

A book party will be held for **Derek Shearer**, co-author of *Economic Democracy—The Challenge of the 1980s*, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. at the Bookshop in Ocean Park, 212 Pier Ave. For information or directions call: 396-3659.

June 3/Long Island, NY

Jack Everett Defense Fund Benefit Concert. Formerly a construction worker at the Shoreham nuke, Jack lost his job for publicly testifying to defects. **Guy Davis, Kate Rotolo, and Pete Seeger** will make music to raise funds for Jack's court battle for a worker's right to speak out. 7:30 p.m. Tuesday, Suffolk Theater, Riverhead. \$5.00. Tickets and information: Shoreham Defense Committee, 3 Highland Road, Glen Cove, NY 11542.

June 7/Philadelphia, PA

The Caribbean: U.S. Policy and Self-

Determination. Workshops on Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Vieques, Haiti, Cuba and Grenada and U.S. military and economic strategy. A public seminar co-sponsored by Friends Peace Committee and American Friends Service Committee. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Fourth and Arch Streets. Call (215) 241-7230.

June 11/Chicago, IL

Economic Democracy. A book party and reception for **Derek Shearer**, co-author of *Economic Democracy—The Challenge of the 1980s*, will be held from 5:30 to 8:00 p.m. at the Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, (Tel. 975-3670). Copies of the book will be available and the author will give a short talk. Co-hosted by the Midwest Academy and IN THESE TIMES.

June 13-15/Stephentown, NY

Berkshire Forum presents: "Nutrition: Science, Myth, Politics," with **Marcella Katz** and **Patricia Wolman**. For full schedule of weekend vacation workshops, call or write: Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

June 19-21/New York, NY

Intellectual Labor and Class Struggle, will be the theme of the **Marxist Union Conference** at New York University. The conference will have many speakers and workshops of interest to Marxists. Registration begins at 7:30 p.m. at Schimmel Auditorium in the Tisch Building, 40 W. 4th Street.

July 19-26/Lake Winnepesaukee, NH

Avon Institute—a gathering focused on the issues of the '80s, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. Resource persons include: civil rights activist **Bob Moses**, labor lawyer **Staughton Lynd**, South African woman exile **Motalepula Chabaku** and artist **Fritz Eichenberg**. Special children's program. Brochure from: A.F.S.C., 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of IN THESE TIMES. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

CITIZENS ENERGY PROJECT

1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

THE CITIZENS PARTY-NATIONAL OFFICE

525 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

THE CITIZENS PARTY OF ILLINOIS

743 N. Wabash Ave.

Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 280-8623

COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY

120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

COIN-CONSUMERS OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN THE NECESSITIES

2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

853 Broadway, Suite 801
New York, NY 10003

MIDWEST ACADEMY

600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NATIONAL CENTER FOR ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE

343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

WORKING WOMEN

1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111